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Social Change in a Shona Ward

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PREFACE

This Occasional Paper marks the revival of a series first instituted in what was then the Department of African Studies by Professor J. C. Mitchell in 1960. The Paper is also of importance in reporting a re-replication of the studies of Bernardi (1950) and Garbett (1960) on five villages (which have now become six) in Mashonaland, Rhodesia. The aim, as in the previous studies, has been to give a primarily demographic profile of the villages, and the result is to record the process of social change within them at three ten-yearly intervals.

The re-replication has not been particularly easy. Garbett's replication, as was indicated in Mitchell's preface to it, was "more in the nature of a spell of training than a definitive piece of fieldwork". As no record of the methodology or schedule used was left, we were obliged to devise our own (*see* Appendix). The differences in style and layout of the previous two works have made it difficult to select out aspects of the data which are genuinely comparable with our own study. However, Mr. Chavunduka has done his best with the material, and we hope that the results will be useful.

Apart from the expected increases of population by age, sex, household size and village, students of urbanisation will be interested to note in this material a de-rural configuration which may be characteristic of urbanising peasant populations elsewhere. It consists firstly of a decline in polygyny accompanied by a higher proportion of divorced or widowed women, perhaps presaging a matrifocal tendency. Again, there is an increase of married men away from the villages at any time, together with a longer period which they spend away from home. A higher education of the labour force is also noted, with a correlative increased age at first job and higher wages in town. Finally there is a movement away from domestic and unskilled labour towards skilled and clerical work, together with a longer period spent at each occupation. Garbett's contention that relatively high wages and high education favour taking a wife to town is not sustained in the present study, but other factors are put forward.

It is to be hoped that the trends of this configuration can be tested again in ten years from now.

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INTRODUCTION

The fieldwork on which this study is based was conducted in six villages in Mashonaland, Rhodesia. These villages which are near the Roman Catholic Mission of Musami, about 50 miles from Salisbury, were first studied by Dr. Bernardi in 1948¹, and in 1958 Dr. Garbett made a replication study of the same villages.²

In 1968 I was asked by Professor D. H. Reader, Head of the Department of Sociology in the University College of Rhodesia, to make another study of these villages, the main aim being to assess changes over the last 20 years. Fieldwork began towards the end of August and was completed in the middle of November 1968.

My gratitude to Professor Reader is very great, both for his encouragement and continued support during the time of the study. I was assisted in gathering the material by Mr. P. Katandawa and Mr. W. Hlazo, Research Assistants in the Department of Sociology of the University College of Rhodesia. I am grateful for this assistance. The villagers who answered the many personal questions concerning their lives must also be thanked. To the officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Rhodesia, we owe gratitude for permission to work in a rural area.

The villages studied are part of the ward (*dunhu*) of Muchagoneyi (Beta), one of the wards of the chiefdom of Mangwende in the Mrewa District of Rhodesia. There are four other wards in the area: Mrewa, Mukarakate, Rota and Muchinjike. Four of the villages, Mushake, Taderera (Chiradza), Gonzo (Zvarewa) and Tavengwa, are to the south-west of the Roman Catholic Mission; Chigombe (Denhere) lies to the north-east, Chakavarika (Musami) to the south-east. At the time of Dr. Bernardi's study there were five of these villages but Tavengwa, an off-shoot of Gonzo village, is now recognised as a sixth and independent village.

The Roman Catholic Mission provides full primary and secondary education and has a teacher-training college. Most of the children from the villages attend school at the mission, although a large number of the mission pupils are boarders who come from all over the country.

The shopping centre near the villages in 1948 had four stores, a tea-room, a mechanic's shop, and a butchery. It now has three general dealers' shops,

¹ BERNARDI, B. *The Social Structure of the Kraal among the Zezuru in Musami, Southern Rhodesia*. Communications from the School of African Studies. III. Cape Town, University of Cape Town, 1950.

² GARBETT, G. K. *Growth and Change in a Shona Ward*, Occasional Paper No. 1. Department of African Studies, U.C.R.N., Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1960.

two grocery shops, three eating houses, two grinding mills, three butcheries, a carpentry shop, a shoe-repair shop, a petrol station, two hairdressers' shops, and a drinking house. At the Mission Station there is another drinking house and a bottle store. For commodities unobtainable at these shops villagers must go to Salisbury, about 50 miles away. The area is served by a number of buses that travel between Salisbury and the district.

Village Structure

Age, Sex Structure. In all the six villages there are more females than males (Table 1) and the number of females over that of males is greatest in the age range of 20-54 years.³ This is largely due to the absence of migrant workers who are young, single men, or who have left their wives at home. Table 1 shows the age and sex structure of the six villages and Table 2 shows the sex ratios in broad age categories. The large number of males over that of females in the age group 0-14 is partly due to the presence of a large number of male children who are not those of the women in the villages. At the time of the survey there were 93 children below the age of 15 who came from other areas to live in Musami. 54 of these children are males and 39 are females. The majority of these children are grandsons and granddaughters of the householders.

Table 3 shows the marital status of people over the age of 14. There is a larger percentage of women who are divorced or widowed than men of a similar status. The high number of divorced or widowed women compared to that of men of a similar status is partly due to the fact that women who are divorced or widowed find it harder to remarry than men. Some men are reluctant to take on responsibility for a woman's children by a previous marriage and, furthermore, many of the widows are past the child-bearing age. Another reason is that many widowed or divorced women are reluctant to contract another marriage. The large number of widowed or divorced women compared with that of men may also be due to the fact that widowed or divorced men find it easier to leave the village and settle in towns or other employment centres than women of a similar status. The high percentage of women with spouses away is an indication of the predominantly male migration to the towns and other employment centres.

Village Size. There are 219 households in the six villages (Table 4). A household is defined as all those people living within a certain dwelling unit and feeding together. Table 4 shows the various types of families in the villages.⁴

The villages vary in size from 101 to 270 members actually living in them. They are much larger than they were in 1948, and the population of the six villages has doubled over the last 20 years (Table 5). This village and population growth has taken place mainly in the three villages of Chigombe (Denhere), Gonzo (Zvarewa) and Tavengwa. The population of Taderera

³ The two previous studies of these villages (BERNARDI, 1950; GARRETT, 1960) do not give the age and sex structure of the population.

⁴ An elementary family consists of parents and their children. In a fragmentary elementary family one of the parents is absent. The majority of the absent parents are in wage employment elsewhere, others are dead and some are divorced. An extended family consists of two or more elementary or fragmentary elementary families, and in the fragmentary extended family the head of the household or his spouse is absent.

(Chiradza) village has actually dropped from 136 in 1958 to 109 in 1968. This is mainly due to the fact that there is now very little room for expansion in the three villages of Chakavarika (Musami), Mushake and Taderera.

Village Composition. The Shona people are patrilineal and practice viri-local marriage. Because of this there is in each village a dominant group of men who are related to each other, and the village headman is one of them. The wives are brought from other villages or districts after appropriate marriage payments have been made. Another group of people in each village consists of those who are linked to the dominant group matrilocally. From the point of view of the dominant lineage, people who are linked to this group matrilocally can be divided into two categories. The first consists of those lineages whose members have given wives to the dominant lineage, and the second category consists of lineages whose members have received wives from the dominant lineage. The third group of people in each village consists of those who are not related to the dominant group. In Tavengwa village, for example, 31·3 per cent of the people belong to the dominant lineage; 12·5 per cent are wives of members of the dominant group; 25·0 per cent of the people are linked to the dominant group matrilocally; and 31·3 per cent of the villagers are not related to the dominant group (strangers).

Table 6 shows the relationship of householders to the headmen. The percentage of members of lineages linked matrilocally to the dominant lineage has dropped from 33·9 per cent in 1948 to 23·2 per cent in 1968. The proportions of other categories of kin have increased slightly over the years. The drop in the percentage of members of lineages linked matrilocally to the dominant group is partly due to the fact that children who are linked matrilocally to the village may find it easier to claim land rights in the village where their father's lineage resides. Furthermore, if their father's lineage was dominant in that village they may also stand a chance of succeeding to the title (Garbett; 1960: 7). This drop in the percentage of members of lineages linked matrilocally to the dominant lineage was more marked after 1958. This is largely due to the implementation of the Land Husbandry Act⁵ in the Mrewa District in 1959 and 1960. Some members of lineages linked matrilocally to the dominant group decided to claim land rights under this Act in the villages where their father's lineage resides.

There is much movement of households between villages. Some families move from one village to another, others move to other districts. About one-third of all households in the village moved from one place to another within

⁵ The Land Husbandry Act was designed to give each eligible adult African male a portion of land (about 8 acres) and rights to graze a certain number of cattle (about 6) in the grazing area. Major aims of the Act were to prevent fragmentation of African land into uneconomic holdings and, by the allocation of individual farming and grazing rights, to place the responsibility for the essential conservation of land and water in the hands of individual persons who would be held accountable for proper land use and conservation. (Southern Rhodesia Government Publication, 1955.)

a period of ten years (Table 7). There is little difference in mobility between aliens and other categories of kin. Reasons given for moving include poor soil, quarrels with neighbours, witchcraft accusations, death of husband in the case of women, and a desire to return to their own villages in the case of aliens.

Economic Life. All families keep a few chickens, but these are generally not well looked after and as a result eggs are not plentiful. Milk is also scarce. The total income of the typical family is made up from the value of agricultural output plus the income derived from wage-earning activities in the area and elsewhere. There is a considerable trade in beer, but no record of this was obtained in the survey. Beer is also brewed for non-cash activities such as ceremonies.

Crops grown by most families include maize, groundnuts and millet. A number of families maintain a small vegetable garden but these gardens are generally neglected during the dry season because of the difficulties of obtaining adequate water. Water for all purposes is obtained from the streams, but during the rainy season a number of wells within the village provide sufficient water for all purposes.

The total number of cattle counted in the six villages was 773, or on the average three head per stock-holding family. Cattle form an essential part of the fabric of kinship relationships, especially in their role in marriage arrangements. When a man decides to marry, normally the obligation is on his father and other close kinsmen to provide the necessary cattle for the marriage payments which then go to the girl's father. Nowadays, however, many men pay the bridewealth in cash because of the difficulties of obtaining sufficient livestock for this purpose from their fathers. Cattle are also slaughtered when there is an important ceremony.

Some cattle are slaughtered for sale. This is done when a person intends to hold a *bavude* ("birthday party"). A *bavude* is not strictly a birthday party. A family may hold a *bavude* at any time. The main purpose of a *bavude* is to raise money. For example, in 1958 when Tanishu lost his possessions (including a car) in a fire, a *bavude* was held for him (Garbett; 1960: 25). When a family intends to hold a *bavude*, beer is brewed, an animal is slaughtered, and rice is cooked. All this food is sold for cash at the *bavude*.

A *bavude* has definite membership and annual elections are held to elect a chairman, secretary and treasurer of the association. Each member pays a fixed amount whenever a *bavude* is held, and all this money is given to the owner of the *bavude*. The frequency of these parties depends largely on the size of the membership. Generally each member must hold at least one *bavude* per year. Registered members get some free food at the *bavude* but all non-members pay. Membership in some *bavude* is restricted to women only, and others have male members only, but the majority accept both men and women

as members. At the time of this survey there were seven *bavude* associations in the six villages.

Village Administration. Each village is administered by a headman who settles disputes and discusses all matters relating to the village. Difficult cases are referred to the ward head and failure to settle a case in the ward head's court results in an appeal to the chief's court or directly to the District Commissioner. Ideally, succession to headmanship is adelphic:

- "1. Founder of the kraal; 2. his younger brothers, if any; 3. founder of the kraal's first son; 4. second, third and following sons, respectively; 5. first son's first son." (Bernardi; 1950: 7.)

In fact succession does not always follow these rules. Rivalry between brothers or kinsmen may alter the ideal course of succession. This happened in Gonzo village (Garbett; 1960: 13). When headman Gonzo died the title should have passed to his brother Munemo but he had died by that time. The next in line for the headmanship was Tavengwa, son of Gonzo's elder brother. Tavengwa was not, however, living in the village at that time and Tapfumaneyi, son of Gonzo took the title. Tavengwa returned and challenged Tapfumaneyi's right to hold the title. A quarrel developed which eventually led Tavengwa to break away and form his own village.

Another factor which affects the succession to headmanship is age. An elder brother or father may be by-passed because he is considered too old to exercise the duties of a headman. This happened in Chigombe village where the headman is the son of the title holder. The title holder, although a very old man, is regarded by the villagers as the owner (*samusha*) of the village. He is consulted in spiritual and religious matters, and his son is regarded as the administrative head of the village.

Other men are by-passed because of other duties that they have to perform. An example is Taderera, former headman of Taderera village. Taderera is still alive but he handed the headmanship of the village to his younger brother Chienda. He gave up the title because he became a spirit medium. A spirit medium is a person who has the ability, when possessed, to speak to the ancestors. Taderera is now the spiritual and religious leader of the area.

Village segmentation also affects the succession to headmanship. As the village increases in size it appears to reach an optimum point, and may split into two sections, the headman's brother becoming the head of the new village.

Modern villages in Rhodesia are placed in lines which may extend up to a mile or so, and it becomes difficult beyond a certain size for the headman to operate efficiently. The headmen of both Chakavarika (Musami) and Chigombe (Denhere) complained in 1958 about the size of their villages and the difficulties of receiving and passing information (Garbett; 1960: 7). Chigombe village is already in the process of breaking up.

Marriage and Divorce

Among the Shona marriage is not complete until the *roora* (bridewealth) demanded by the woman's kin group has been paid by the husband or his kin group. The amount of *roora* charged at the time of marriage is not fixed but fluctuates from family to family. It is a matter for negotiation between representatives of the boy's kin group and those of the girl's kin group. In the past cattle and other livestock were normally given at the time of marriage but nowadays money is becoming an important substitute for cattle. This is mainly due to the scarcity of cattle in recent years and the difficulties of moving livestock from one district to another.

The transfer of cattle or money is the public sign that the couple is legally married and their children will have the right to inherit both property and name. Another important function of *roora* is to fix the position of children in society. *Roora* gives the husband legal rights over the children he begets, hence the Shona saying that "children go where the cattle have come from". Bridewealth is divided into two main parts. The first payment is called *rutsambo* and the second is *roora* or *pfuma*. In the past *rutsambo* gave the husband sexual or uxorial rights over his wife, that is, he could take her to his home and treat her as his wife. But this custom is no longer followed closely nowadays. Many men no longer take the wives to their homes until the *roora* or part of it has been paid and the marriage has been registered at the District Commissioner's office. *Roora* confers generational rights over the woman. In principle, the children of any union belong to the woman's lineage until the *roora* has been paid. Thus should a divorce occur, then if there had been children only a proportion of the *roora* would be returned. Regard must be had to the number of children born of the marriage. The amount of *roora* retained by a father-in-law varies from family to family but the general practice is to allow one beast for each child born of the union (Child; 1965).

Roora also serves as security for the good behaviour of both husband and wife. If the husband maltreats his wife she may leave him, and if he is found to be at fault he may lose his *roora*. If the wife behaves badly the husband may divorce her and demand the return of his *roora*. The wife's kinsmen who accept the *roora* at the time of marriage do so with the understanding that they may be called upon to refund it should a divorce occur, and therefore the stability of the marriage is in their interest. They will put pressure on their kinswoman, the wife, to behave in such a way that divorce will not occur. In the past the *roora* received was generally shared among a number of the wife's kinsmen. Some families still do this today. The distribution of *roora* makes its refund at divorce difficult and this further contributes to marriage stability.

Only a few men in the villages are married to more than one wife. The percentage of polygynous households has dropped slightly from 8·3 per cent in 1948 to 7·3 per cent in 1968. One obstacle to polygyny is economic inability of many villagers to raise bridewealth for a second wife. Another reason is opposition from the first wife and, furthermore, many girls are not keen to become someone's second wife. The drop in polygynous families is also due, at least in part, to the influence of Christian Missions and Western education which have propagandised for a long time in favour of monogamy.

The case history of Paul below gives the picture of a modern Shona marriage. When Paul decided to begin marriage proceedings in May 1968, two representatives were sent by his kin group to the girl's village to ask for marriage. A word had been sent to the girl's village in advance notifying them about this intention. At the girl's village they were met by the girl's father's younger brother who had two other kinsmen with him.

After the girl had agreed to the proposed marriage in the presence of all the representatives, marriage negotiations began. The girl was asked to demand a sum of money from her boy friend's kinsmen as an act of her acceptance of the proposed marriage. She was paid a sum of 12 Rhodesian dollars.⁶ The girl's father's younger brother further demanded a sum of four dollars. This was regarded as the fee for the meeting. The date for the second meeting was arranged at which the first marriage payment (*rutsambo*) would be made.

Paul's representatives returned in June 1968, for the *rutsambo* ceremony. At first there was a payment of one dollar for getting the meeting started (*vuramuromo*). The amount for *rutsambo* was announced: 50 dollars. All the money was paid in cash. Paul's representatives were asked to return at a later date with the *roora* or *pfuma*. This would be seven head of cattle plus one cow for the girl's mother. Also demanded were a number of articles for the girl's father. These were: an overcoat, a blanket, a hat and a pair of shoes.

At the *roora* ceremony in September 1968, four head of cattle and the girl's mother's cow were promised. These were to be driven from the boy's village by the girl's representatives. It was agreed that the balance would be paid later. Certain payments were demanded before the conclusion of the *roora* ceremony. A sum of four dollars was charged for buying the whip used to drive the cattle from the home of the boy to that of the girl. The second payment was two dollars. This amount pays the girl's representatives for their trip to the boy's home to collect the cattle. This ceremony concluded the traditional marriage process.

After the five cattle had been collected from the boy's home, a further step was taken, that is, the registration of the marriage at the District Commis-

⁶ Rhodesia converted to the decimal system on the 17th of February, 1970. One pound sterling is equal to two dollars.

sioner's office. According to the African Marriages Act (Chapter 105) registration is now essential to the validity of an African marriage, and the certificate of marriage contains full details of the marriage consideration paid and outstanding (Child; 1965: 34). In December 1968 a church ceremony was arranged which was conducted by the priest of the local church. This was followed by two wedding receptions. The first wedding ceremony was held at the girl's village and the second at the boy's home.

An investigation was made of some 187 marriages.⁷ It was found that in 127 marriages *roora* was with cattle and money; in 44 cases *roora* was with money only; and in 16 marriages only cattle were given. It can be seen from Table 8 that the number of cases where cattle only were paid is declining. I have pointed out earlier the difficulties of raising sufficient cattle in the villages. Because of this, a large number of people now prefer to pay the whole *roora* in cash. The majority, however, still pay three or four head of cattle and the remainder in cash.

The divorce rate has gone up slightly over the last ten years, but is still lower than that recorded in 1948. In 1948 the divorce rate was 14.56 per cent, and by 1958 it had dropped to 8.05 per cent. The present rate is 12.37 per cent (Table 11). These rates were calculated using "ratio c" (Barnes; 1949: 37: 61) which excludes marriages which have ended by death. Table 13 also shows that of the original cohort of marriages in 1958, 89 per cent have survived the ten-year period (ignoring those which ended in death and those where the couple have left the village). This survival rate is lower than that of the previous ten years. Of the original cohort of marriages in 1948, 92.6 per cent were still extant in 1958.

Table 14 gives the distribution of the age of first marriage. The table has been divided into three periods. The mean ages of first marriage for the three periods are—1906-26, 27.3 years; 1927-47, 27.6 years; 1948-68, 25.9 years.⁹ There appears to be a slight drop in the age of first marriage after 1948 but the difference between the means for the three periods is not statistically significant.

Labour Migration

Most adult men circulate continually between town and country but hope eventually to retire to their rural homes when their working days are over. Labour migration appears to be due mainly to economic reasons.¹⁰ Not many

⁷ I divided the 187 marriages from whom adequate information was obtained into three periods; before 1931; 1931-49 and those completed between 1950 and 1968.

⁹ A number of old men cannot remember the date of their first marriages.

¹⁰ There are also some personal factors that drive some men to the towns such as quarrels with neighbours or kinsmen, resentment against the headman or a desire to experience town life. But these personal factors do not account in themselves for the perennial exodus of a large number of people.

village families can support themselves solely by farming and because of this they are largely dependent on the earnings of members working in towns or other employment centres. An inquiry¹¹ made by a Government economist in 1960 into incomes derived from agriculture and livestock in the Mangwende Tribal Trust Land¹² shows that the average net cash incomes from both crops and livestock was:

Master farmers	£40
Plot-holders and co-operators .. .	£6
Ordinary farmers	£3½
Females	£1

(Holleman; 1969: 60).

Holleman writes:

"On the basis of these figures, the net value of total rural production in the Mangwende Reserve was about £3 per head of the population, which appears to be similar to that of eight other reserves regarding which statistics were available at the time, whereas the total available cash from these sources was less than £1 per head, approximately £50,000 for a population of between 56,000 and 60,000. It is obvious that under these conditions wage earnings must be a major and essential part of the income of rural families, because it seems inconceivable that at the present day a family of, say, five or six could possibly meet even its elementary requirements on an annual income in cash and kind of the value of £15-£18." (Holleman; 1969: 60.)

Most migrants, however, retire to their villages mainly because of the relative lack of security in the urban areas. In the urban areas there is generally a lack of security with regard to residence; and there is lack of social security in the form of unemployment benefits, health insurance, and old-age pensions (Mitchell; 1961).

The percentage of men away from the villages has continued to increase over the years (Table 15). The proportion of males aged 15-55 absent in 1968 was 67.4 per cent compared to 24.13 per cent in 1948 and 46.4 per cent in 1958. The increase in the percentage of men away from the villages is due, at least in part, to the rising standards of living and the vastly increased new wants created by contacts with Western civilisation.

As was the case in 1958, the overall increase in the category males 15-55 absent has resulted mainly from the increase in the number of married males away. This increase in the number of married males away from the villages,

¹¹ The study was based on a random sample of 52 cases dispersed over the area. Master farmers are those who follow extension advice and have acquired the Master Farmers' certificate; plot-holders and co-operators are those who follow extension advice in varying degrees but have not yet attained Master-farmer standards; ordinary farmers are those who practise primitive methods; female farmers are widows and spinsters.

¹² i.e. The former "Native Reserve".

is due to a number of factors. One major factor is the rising standard of living. Because of the increased new wants most married men are forced to remain in employment all their lives, although they usually express the desire to retire to their rural homes. For example, five men who reached the retiring age in the civil service are now employed elsewhere. Two retired police sergeants are now employed by the Rhodesia Railways as security guards. Two other men reached the retiring age in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Rhodesian Government. One is now employed as a driver and the other is now a court interpreter. Another retired government servant is now employed as a clerk in the Salisbury City Council. He was a clerk in the Government Department of Public Works. One of these men made the point very clearly. He said:

“Although I have retired from government service, I cannot settle at home right away. What will I do there? I still have some children in school. If I stay at home it means doing without tea, bread and meat. My pension won’t be enough.”

The percentage of single males away from the villages has decreased since 1958. The percentage of single males absent in 1948 was 70·7. By 1958 the percentage of single men away had increased to 83·4 per cent, and in 1968 the percentage of single men away was 71·3. This is due, at least in part, to the fact that children now stay in school longer than in previous decades, as will be shown below.

The mean age of men making their first journey out of the villages to seek work has increased. According to the 1958 survey (Garbett; 1960: 16) the mean age of men born before 1924 who had left the villages to seek work was 20 years, and of men born in or after 1924 was 20·08 years. The mean age of men who left to seek work between 1958 and 1968 was 22 years. This is due to the fact that children now stay in school longer than in previous years (Table 16). Among the men who went out to work between 1940 and 1958, 59·3 per cent had received four or more years of schooling and, among those who went out to work after 1958, 89·4 per cent had more than four years of schooling. (The difference between the two groups is significant: Chi squared

15·11. Chi squared value, $df\ 1, p = 0·05$ is 6·64). These migrants also receive higher wages in the towns than in previous years (Table 17). If we compare the wages of the men who began work between 1940 and 1958 and those who began work after 1958, we find that 23·7 per cent of the men during the first period received more than 16 dollars per month in their first occupation. Among the men who began work after 1958, 59·7 per cent received more than 16 dollars per month. (The difference between the two groups is significant: Chi squared = 12·3. Chi squared value, $df\ 1, p = 0·05$ is 6·64).¹³

¹³ This comparison does not allow for the depreciated value of money over the whole period.

There has also been a movement away from domestic and labouring services towards skilled and clerical jobs among migrants, although the movement has been much slower than that which occurred in the previous decade. Of those people who went out to work between 1958 and 1968, 58 per cent went into domestic and labouring occupations (Table 18). Among the men who went out on their first trip before 1939, 89 per cent went into domestic or labouring occupations, and among the men who went out from 1940 to 1958, 60 per cent took these occupations.

The period that men spend away from the villages on their first journeys to town has also increased since 1958. Among the men who began work between 1940 and 1958 only 26.3 per cent spent more than two years in their first occupation, whereas among those who began work after 1958, 67.5 per cent stayed in their first occupations for more than two years before returning home to settle (Table 19). (The difference between the average length of stay for the two periods is significant. Chi squared = 4.51. Chi squared value, df 1, $p < 0.05$ is 3.84.) In their second journeys to town men continue to stay longer than in the previous decade, where only 33.3 per cent compared with 93.9 per cent of men in the later period spent more than two years in their occupations (Table 20). (The difference between the two periods is statistically significant. Chi squared = 7.28. Chi squared value, df 1, $p < 0.05$ is 3.84.)

Transport facilities help to explain this tendency for men to stay longer on their occupations than in the previous decades. It is now possible for most men to visit their rural homes nearly every week-end and holidays to supervise farming and to see their families without having to terminate their employment. Because most men are now able to take advantage of these better transport facilities, weekly visits home were not recorded as trips for the purposes of this study but the journeys after termination of employment and a long leave of absence from work were.

Wives and other kinsmen are also now able to visit the towns more frequently so that the average migrant is constantly in touch with his rural people. The rural kinsmen keep the migrant well informed about developments at home, and in turn the migrant is now able, through visiting kinsmen, to direct his family and agricultural activities from his place of employment.

Another reason which may account for this tendency for men to stay longer in their occupations than in previous decades is the difficulty nowadays of obtaining another job after a long stay in the villages. This fear was expressed by a number of informants in the survey. Thus many migrants may be forced to stay on their present jobs for as long as possible because of the difficulties of obtaining further work.

The period spent at home by the men before making their next trip to work has not changed much over the years. Men who went out to work in the

period before 1939 spent a mean period of 37·3 months at home before making their second journey to town, and those who returned from their first jobs between 1939 and 1958 spent a mean period of 29·9 months. The mean period spent at home by those men who went out to work after 1958 before making their second journey is 29·3 months (Table 21).

In the period before 1939, 62·2 per cent of men making their first trip out of the villages were single. In the period between 1940 and 1958 the percentage of single men making their first trip out of the villages was 50·8. All men who left the villages to seek work for the first time after 1958 were single.

When subsequent visits are compared we find that in the period before 1939, 50 per cent of the men married before making their second trip to seek work. Between 1939 and 1958, 76 per cent married before making their second trip to town and, after 1958, 60·6 per cent were married before making their second trip (Table 22).

Some men take their wives with them to town; others do not. Garbett (1960: 20) found that in general married men accompanied by their wives spend longer periods in town and make shorter periods home. The present study appears to show a similar trend but the figures are so small that it would be unwise to generalise. Table 24 shows that men accompanied by their wives spent a mean period of 32·3 months away from home during their second trip to town. The mean period spent away from the village by all married men during the second trip is 30·7 months (Table 23). The difference between the means for all married men and men accompanied by their wives is, however, not significant. We have not compared the periods spent at home by men who had their wives with them in town with those who did not because they were still at home during the time of this survey.

Garbett (1960: 20) has argued that two related factors which induce a man to take his wife with him to town are relatively high wages and high standard of education. In 1958 it was found that men who are accompanied by their wives to town tend to receive higher wages than men who are unaccompanied by their wives. The mean wage earned by all males on their first trip was 6·22 dollars per month, and for married men accompanied by their wives was 12·09 dollars per month. The mean wage of married men unaccompanied by their wives on their last occupation was 9·15 dollars per month and by men accompanied by their wives was 12·54 dollars per month.

In the period after 1958 all males who went on their first trip to seek work were single, but if we compare the wages received on their second trip we find that 57·1 per cent of those accompanied by their wives received more than 15 dollars per month, and 54·5 per cent of the men who did not take their wives with them to town received more than 15 dollars per month. The difference between the two groups is not significant. Again if we compare the levels of education attained we find little difference between those men who

were accompanied by their wives and those who were not. The mean number of years of education of men accompanied by their wives on their second trip is 6.2 years compared to 6.0 years for those unaccompanied by their wives (Table 24). Garbett's two related factors, relatively high wages and education, which he claims favour taking a wife to town, therefore cannot be sustained.

Interviews with married men in this study have revealed other factors which induce a man to take his wife with him to town. Availability of suitable accommodation in the urban area is one such factor. Three men who are receiving relatively high wages stated that they could not take their wives to town because of lack of married accommodation there. Some left their wives behind mainly because they have no one at home to look after their lands, cattle and dwellings. Such people find it necessary to maintain their land rights in the village because of relative insecurity in the urban areas. Opportunities for home ownership are few in most urban African townships. Further, the regulations and legislation affecting Africans living in town do not create in many a feeling of their being full members of the urban communities. Again, a number of men do not believe that present wages received in town are high enough to abandon subsistence production at the rural home. And, as mentioned earlier, others want to maintain their lands and dwellings in the village as a form of social security; a place to which they can retire in times of unemployment, illness and old-age.

One man who gets a relatively high wage had left his wife behind because of pressure from his mother. She wanted to spend some time with her daughter-in-law so that she could give her proper instructions in domestic matters. There are also others who leave their wives at the rural home because of the children attending school there.

The relationship between amount of education, ability to earn high wages and the number of fields held in the village was examined. Table 25 shows present wages and number of fields held. The mean wage of those with 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 and those with 5 or more fields was, 23.3, 20.8, 28.5, 30.8, 34.0, 55.0 dollars per month respectively. If we compare the mean wages earned by those with 0 or 3 fields the difference between them is not statistically significant. (CR 0.10. *t* value, $p = 0.05$ *df* 9 is 1.83.) Similarly if we compare the mean wages earned by those with 1 and 3 fields or those with 0 and 5 fields the difference between them is not statistically significant. (CR 0.02. *t* value, $p = 0.5$ *df* 13 is 1.77.) (CR 0.05. *t* value, $p = 0.05$ *df* 10 is 1.81.) Again if we compare the mean number of years of education received by those with 0 and 5 fields the difference between them is not statistically significant (Table 26). (CR 0.18. *t* value, $p = 0.05$ *df* 13 is 1.77.)

If we examine the relationship between age and number of fields held (Table 27) we find that although there appears to be a tendency for older

men to hold more fields than younger men, the difference between them is not significant. Those with 1 or 5 or more fields and those with 0 or 5 or more fields were compared. The difference between their mean ages is not statistically significant (CR = 0.01, *t* value, *p* = 0.05, *df* 5 is 2.01) (CR = 0.29, *t* value, *p* = 0.05, *df* 10 is 1.81). Thus it appears that in the villages studied there is no relationship between age, education, wage, and the holding of rights to land. The number of migrants interviewed is, however, small.

The Land Husbandry Act, which was implemented in the Mrewa area in 1959 and 1960, has been abandoned by government because it was unpopular in many parts of the country. The government has now embarked on community development, that is, the creation of social foundations in the form of organised self-help through community boards grouped together in viable local government councils.¹⁴ Such foundations are now considered a prerequisite to and an integral part of sustained economic and social development (Govt. Pub.; 1965). It will be interesting to see in future years what effect community development programmes have on the general economic development of this area.

TABLE 1
Age and Sex Structure

<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	(N)	"	(N)	"
0- 4	113	11.1	103	10.1
5- 9	98	9.6	79	7.8
10-14	93	9.1	61	6.0
15-19	61	6.0	68	6.7
20-24	23	2.0	46	4.5
25-29	12	1.2	27	2.7
30-34	9	0.9	19	1.9
35-39	12	1.2	31	3.1
40-44	7	0.7	24	2.4
45-49	9	0.9	15	1.5
50-54	4	0.4	12	1.2
55-59	7	0.7	11	1.1
60 and over ..	30	2.9	43	4.2
	<u>478</u>	<u>46.7</u>	<u>539</u>	<u>53.2</u>

Effective Sample: 1,017

¹⁴ The Mangwende Rural Council was re-established in May 1970. There was a council in the area from June 1946 to November 1961. See HOLLEMAN; 1969.

TABLE 2

Sex Ratios in Broad Age Categories
(Males per 100 Females)

<i>Age Group</i>	1968
0-14	125
15-29	68
30-44	38
45 years and older	62

TABLE 3

Marital Status
(People over 14 years of age)

<i>All Villages</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Single	113	95	208
Divorced	5	18	23
Widowed	1	39	40
Married but spouse away ..	1	83	84
Married and living with spouse	54	61	115
Totals	<u>174</u>	<u>296</u>	<u>470</u>

TABLE 4

Household Types

<i>Household Type</i>	(N)	1968 %
Elementary family	77	35.1
Fragmentary elementary family ..	80	36.5
Extended family	58	26.5
Fragmentary extended family	4	1.8
	<u>219</u>	<u>99.9</u>

TABLE 5

Village and Population Growth

Village	1948			1958			1968		
	House- holds	Population	Average No. of Persons per Household	House- holds	Population	Average No. of Persons per Household	House- holds	Population	Average No. of Persons per Household
Chigombe (Denhere)	23	91	3.96	32	153	4.78	53	270	5.09
Chakavarika (Musami)	26	99	3.80	25	109	4.36	30	138	4.60
Mushake . . .	20	87	4.25	16	74	4.63	23	101	4.39
Taderera (Chiradza)	16	94	5.88	27	136	5.03	23	109	4.74
Gonzo (Zvarewa)	21	111	5.34	27	127	4.70	49	243	4.95
Tavengwa . . .	—	—	—	25	104	4.17	41	156	3.81
	106	482		152	703		219	1,017	

TABLE 6

Relationship of Householders to Headman, 1948 to 1968

(Expressed as Percentages)

1948		<i>Chigombe</i> (<i>Denhere</i>)	<i>Chakavarika</i> (<i>Musami</i>)	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>Taderera</i> (<i>Chiradza</i>)	<i>Gonzo</i> (<i>Zvarewa</i>)	<i>Tavengwa</i>	<i>All</i> <i>Villages</i>
Relationship								
Lineal .. ..	..	26.0	26.0	35.0	50.0	23.8		31.1
Spouses of lineal ..	..	4.3	11.5	10.0	6.3	23.8		11.4
Matrilateral link ..	..	43.5	50.1	35.0	6.3	23.7		33.9
Unrelated .. ..	..	26.1	11.5	20.0	37.4	28.6		23.6
		<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.1</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>		<u>100.0</u>
1958								
Lineal .. ..	..	20.8	34.5	47.0	44.2	18.5	4.5	29.0
Spouses of lineal ..	..	3.5	13.9	5.9	3.7	25.8	9.1	11.1
Matrilateral link ..	..	47.7	48.2	29.5	11.1	22.2	22.7	33.7
Unrelated .. ..	..	20.8	3.4	17.6	40.8	33.4	63.6	26.2
		<u>92.8</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.8</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>
1968								
Lineal .. ..	..	24.0	30.0	45.5	50.0	33.3	31.3	35.7
Spouses of lineal ..	..	24.0	10.0	18.2	9.1	8.3	12.5	13.7
Matrilateral link ..	..	22.0	50.0	18.2	13.6	10.4	25.0	23.2
Unrelated .. ..	..	30.0	10.0	18.2	27.2	48.0	31.3	27.3
		<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>99.9</u>

TABLE 7

Mobility of Kin and Aliens

		<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Chaka-</i> <i>varika</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>Taderera</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Tavengwa</i>	<i>All</i> <i>Villages</i>
Percentage of aliens who moved of all aliens ..	1948-58	33.3	0.0	25.0	16.6	50.0	—	28.0
	1958-68	50.0	100.0	0.0	55.6	10.0	21.4	31.7
Percentage of kin who moved of all kin ..	1948-58	26.6	17.4	18.8	33.3	26.8	—	22.2
	1958-68	44.0	20.0	31.8	38.8	18.2	10.0	28.7

TABLE 8

Types of Roora

<i>Marriages Contracted</i>		<i>Number</i>	<i>Cattle and</i> <i>Money</i>	<i>Money</i> <i>Only</i>	<i>Cattle</i> <i>Only</i>
Before 1931 .. ..	..	31	21	0	10
1931-49 .. ..	..	63	48	9	5
1950-68 .. ..	..	93	58	35	1
No adequate information ..	..	32			
Total		<u>219</u>			

TABLE 9

Marriage and Divorce, 1948

	<i>Chakavarika</i>	<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Taderera</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>All Villages</i>
Total marriages completed	31	25	27	22	22	127
Marriages ended by death	5	5	4	4	6	24
Marriages ended by divorce	7	3	2	0	3	15
Total marriages extant in 1948 ..	19	17	21	18	13	88

Divorce rate (Ratio C) 14.56%

TABLE 10

Marriage and Divorce, 1958

	<i>Chaka- varika</i>	<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Tadera</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>Tavengwa</i>	<i>All Villages</i>
Total marriages contracted by 1958 ..	26	35	37	27	18	29	172
Marriages ended by death	4	5	6	3	2	3	23
Marriages ended by divorce	0	2	5	2	2	1	12
Marriages still extant in 1958	22	28	26	22	14	25	137

Divorce rate (Ratio C) 8.05%

TABLE 11

Marriage and Divorce, 1968

	<i>Chaka- varika</i>	<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Taderera</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>Tavengwa</i>	<i>All Villages</i>
Total marriages contracted by 1968 ..	33	56	54	24	21	38	226
Marriages ended by death	9	9	14	1	3	4	40
Marriages ended by divorce	4	6	5	2	1	5	23
Marriages still extant in 1968	20	41	35	21	17	29	163

Divorce rate (Ratio C) 12.37%

TABLE 12

Marriages Which Ended in Divorce, 1948-58

	<i>Chakavarika</i>	<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Taderera</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>All Villages</i>
A						
Marriages ended by death	9	3	5	1	0	18
B						
Marriages ended by divorce	1	0	2	0	1	4
Number of couples who have left ..	1	2	4	3	6	16
A+B	11	5	11	4	7	38
Total marriages extant 1948	19	17	21	18	13	88
Marriages extant 1948, still extant 1958	8	12	10	14	6	50

TABLE 13

Marriages Which Ended in Divorce, 1958-68

		<i>Chaka- varika</i>	<i>Chigombe</i>	<i>Gonzo</i>	<i>Tadereva</i>	<i>Mushake</i>	<i>Tavengwa</i>	<i>All Villages</i>
A								
	Marriages ended by death	..	..	5	2	1	4	22
B								
	Marriages ended by divorce	..	..	2	0	1	2	9
	Number of couples who left	..	..	3	11	4	5	33
A + B	..	..	..	10	13	6	11	64
	Total marriages extant 1958	..	..	26	22	14	25	137
	Marriages extant 1958, still extant 1968	13	13	16	9	8	14	73

TABLE 14
Age of First Marriage
(All Marriages)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Period in Which Marriage Occurred</i>			<i>All Periods</i>
	1906-26	1927-47	1948-68	
16-20	2	8	15	25
21-25	2	7	37	46
26-30	2	15	27	44
31-35	—	3	12	15
36-40	2	5	5	12
41-45	—	—	—	0
45-50	—	1	—	1
	—	—	—	—
	8	39	96	143
	—	—	—	—
	No adequate information			44
				—
				187
				—

TABLE 15
Labour Migration, 1948-68

		1948	1958	1968
Percentage married males absent	..	12·3	49·6	62·1
Percentage single males absent	.. ..	70·7	83·4	71·3
Percentage males 15-55 absent	.. ..	24·1	46·4	67·4

TABLE 16
Standard of Education (Labour Migrants)

<i>Years of Education</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in 1939 or before</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in 1940 to 1958</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in 1958 or later</i>	<i>All men</i>
0	25	6	2	33
1	12	7	—	19
2	3	5	—	8
3	2	6	5	13
4	1	12	7	20
5	1	6	12	19
6	1	5	10	16
7	—	7	5	12
8	—	4	21	25
9	—	1	1	2
10	—	—	3	3
All years ..	45	59	66	170
No information ..	1	2	—	3
				<hr/> 173 <hr/>

TABLE 17
Wage of First Occupation

<i>Wage of first occupation in dollars and cents</i>	<i>Men who began work in 1939 or before</i>	<i>Men who began work in 1940 to 1958</i>	<i>Men who began work in 1958 or later</i>	<i>All men</i>
0- 2	37	—	—	37
2·1- 4	3	6	4	13
4·1- 6	—	6	1	7
6·1- 8	—	3	1	4
8·1-10	2	3	4	9
10·1-12	—	6	5	11
12·1-14	—	3	5	8
14·1-16	—	2	5	7
16·1-18	—	1	3	4
18·1-20	—	4	4	8
20·1-22	—	—	—	—
22·1-24	—	1	12	13
24·1-26	—	1	8	9
26·1-28	—	—	4	4
28·1-30	—	2	3	5
30·1-32	—	—	2	2
32·1-34	—	—	1	1
	<hr/> 42	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 62	<hr/> 142
No information ..	4	23	4	31
				<hr/> 173 <hr/>

TABLE 18

First Occupation

<i>Type of Occupation</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in or before 1939</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in 1940 to 1957</i>	<i>Men who went out to work in 1958 or later</i>
Domestic	20	20	10
Labourer	21	17	28
Police captaoe	2	1	3
Artisans	1	6	4
Other skilled	2	5	16
Clerks, white collar	—	9	4
Teacher	—	3	1
	—	—	—
All occupations	46	61	66
	—	—	—

TABLE 19

Period of Employment (First Trip)

<i>Period in months</i>	<i>Men who began work in 1939 or before</i>		<i>Men who began work between 1940-58</i>		<i>Men who began work after 1958</i>		<i>Totals</i>
	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Mar.</i>	<i>Sing.</i>	
1- 12	4	13	11	17	—	4	49
13- 24	3	4	11	3	—	8	29
25- 36	6	1	3	3	—	4	17
37- 48	2	3	—	—	—	7	12
49- 60	—	—	1	1	—	3	5
61- 72	—	1	—	2	—	4	7
73- 84	1	—	2	—	—	5	8
85- 96	—	1	—	2	—	—	3
97-108	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
109-120	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
121-132	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
133-144	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
145-156	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
157-168	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
169-180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
181-192	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
193-204	—	1	—	1	—	—	2
205-216	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
217-228	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
299 and over	—	2	—	—	—	—	2
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	17	28	28	29	0	41	143
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1	—	—	4	—	25	173

TABLE 20

Period of Employment (Second Trip)

Period in months	Men who began work in 1939 or before		Men who began work 1940-58		Men who began work after 1958		Totals
	Mar.	Sing.	Mar.	Sing.	Mar.	Sing.	
1- 12	6	4	17	2	1	—	30
13- 24	1	2	6	2	—	1	12
25- 36	1	1	4	3	7	3	19
37- 48	2	—	2	—	6	4	14
49- 60	—	3	—	1	2	5	11
61- 72	2	—	1	1	4	—	8
73- 84	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
85- 96	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
97-108	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
109-120	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
121-132	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
133-144	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
145-156	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
157-168	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
169-180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
181-192	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
193-204	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
205-216	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
217-228	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
299 and over ..	3	1	—	—	—	—	4
	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>105</u>

TABLE 21

Period Spent in the Villages Before Making
Next Trip to Seek Work

	Number	Mean Period in Months
Men who began work in 1939 or before	30	37.3
Men who began work in 1940 to 1958	59	29.9
Men who began work after 1958 ..	37	29.3

TABLE 22

Marriage and Trips to Town

<i>Period of Employment</i>	<i>Number Married Before Trip 1</i>	<i>Number Single at Trip 1</i>	<i>All Males</i>	<i>Expressed as Percentage</i>	
In or before 1939 ..	17	28	45	37·78	62·22
1940-58	28	29	57	49·12	50·88
1959-68	0	66	66	0·00	100·00

<i>Period of Employment</i>	<i>Number Married Before Trip 2</i>	<i>Number Single at Trip 2</i>	<i>All Males</i>	<i>Expressed as Percentage</i>	
In or before 1939 ..	15	15	30	50·00	50·00
1940-58	32	10	42	76·19	23·81
1959-68	20	13	33	60·60	39·40
No information ..			29		

TABLE 23

Wage of Second Occupation
(*Married Males Only*)

<i>Wage in Rhodesian Dollars</i>	<i>Unaccompanied Married Males</i>	<i>Men Accompanied by Wives</i>	
1- 5	—	—	
5·1-10	3	1	
10·1-15	2	2	
15·1-20	3	1	
20·1-25	2	2	
25·1-30	1	1	
	—	—	
	11	7	18
No information			2
Single males			13
			—
			33
			—

TABLE 24

Standard of Education

(Married Males Only)

Years of Education				Unaccompanied Males	Accompanied Males	Total
0	..	..	..	—	—
1	..	..	..	—	—
2	..	..	..	—	—
3	..	..	..	—	—
4	..	..	..	2	1	3
5	..	..	..	2	1	3
6	..	..	..	5	4	9
7	..	..	..	1	—	1
8	..	..	..	1	1	2
9 and over	..	..		1	1	2
All years	..	..		12	8	20

TABLE 25

Present Wages and Number of Acres Held

Wage				Number of Acres					Total
				0	1	2	3	4	
5-10	..	..	..	—	—	2	—	—	2
10·1-15	..	..	..	1	—	—	—	—	1
15·1-20	..	..	..	5	2	8	3	—	18
20·1-25	..	..	..	2	3	6	3	1	15
25·1-30	..	..	..	—	—	3	1	—	4
30·1-35	..	..	..	—	—	1	—	—	1
35·1-40	..	..	..	1	—	5	—	—	7
40·1 and above	..	..		1	—	5	3	1	11
				10	5	30	10	2	59
No information	..	..							7
									66

TABLE 26

Standard of Education and Number of Acres Held

<i>Years of Education</i>				<i>Number of Acres Held</i>						<i>Total</i>
				0	1	2	3	4	5+	
0				1	—	9	2	1	—	13
1				—	—	—	—	—	—	0
2				—	—	—	1	—	—	1
3				1	—	2	—	—	—	3
4				1	1	3	1	—	1	7
5				2	1	5	1	1	—	10
6				1	1	6	2	—	1	11
7				1	1	1	3	—	—	6
8				2	1	5	1	—	—	9
9 and above				3	—	2	—	—	1	6
				<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>66</u>

TABLE 27

Age and Number of Acres Held

<i>Age</i>				<i>Number of Acres Held</i>						<i>Total</i>
				0	1	2	3	4	5+	
20-24				1	—	—	2	—	—	3
25-29				—	2	4	2	—	—	8
30-34				6	—	8	—	—	—	14
35-39				4	1	3	2	—	2	12
40-44				1	—	9	1	1	—	12
45-49				—	—	5	2	—	—	7
50-54				—	1	2	—	1	2	6
55-59				1	—	—	—	—	—	1
60-64				—	—	—	1	—	—	1
65 and over				—	—	—	2	—	—	2
				<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>66</u>

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY ENUMERATION

Village..... House No..... Date..... Recorder.....

Household Head (present not present/absent dead)

Full name..... Sex..... Age..... Education..... Religion..... Dialect.....

Father's village..... Job description..... What does v./head call you?.....

Spouse (present/not present absent/dead)

Name..... Sex..... Age..... Education..... Religion..... Dialect.....

Birth place..... Job description.....

Own Children (dead and those living here)

	Name	Born	Died	Sex	Education	Religion	Marital Status	Normal Occupation
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.

If the child only lived for a few months: get the number of weeks or months.

Others Living in Household (co-residents)

	Name	Age	Sex	Education	Religion	Marital Status	Normal Occupation	Relationship to F./head
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Own Children (living elsewhere)

Living with Whom
(relationship)

1.	.....	.....
2.	.....	.....
3.	.....	.....
4.	.....	.....
5.	.....	.....
6.	.....	.....
7.	.....	.....

Residence

- 1 How many acres of land do you possess ? 1
- 2 How many fields do you have ? 2
- 3 How many acres are under cultivation ? 3
- 4 How many cattle do you have ? 4
- 5 How long have you lived in these dwellings ? 5
- 6 Where did you live just before you moved to your present residence ? 6
- 7 What about the period before that ? 7

Attitudes

- 8 Do you think that traditional ritual ceremonies such as *kurova guva* are good ? 8
- 9 Do you think that Africans should be known by their tribe in the rural areas ? 9
- 10 What about in town ? Should Africans be known by their tribe ? 10
- 11 Do you get on well with members of your tribe because you have the same ancestors ? 11
- 12 Do you agree that the ancestors gave the tribe customs that should be preserved ? 12
- 13 (If informant is not a member of a church.) Do you want to belong to a church ? 13
- 14 Do you think Africans should become church members and stop participating in traditional ritual ceremonies ? 14
- 15 Do you want to have more education ? 15
- 16 If you win 250 and you are asked to spend it in one week, what would you buy ? 16
- 17 Would you be afraid if someone known to be a witch threatened to bewitch you ? 17
- 18 Do you think that the life of the towns is good or bad ? 18
- 19 Which is better: to work in town or plough at home ? 19

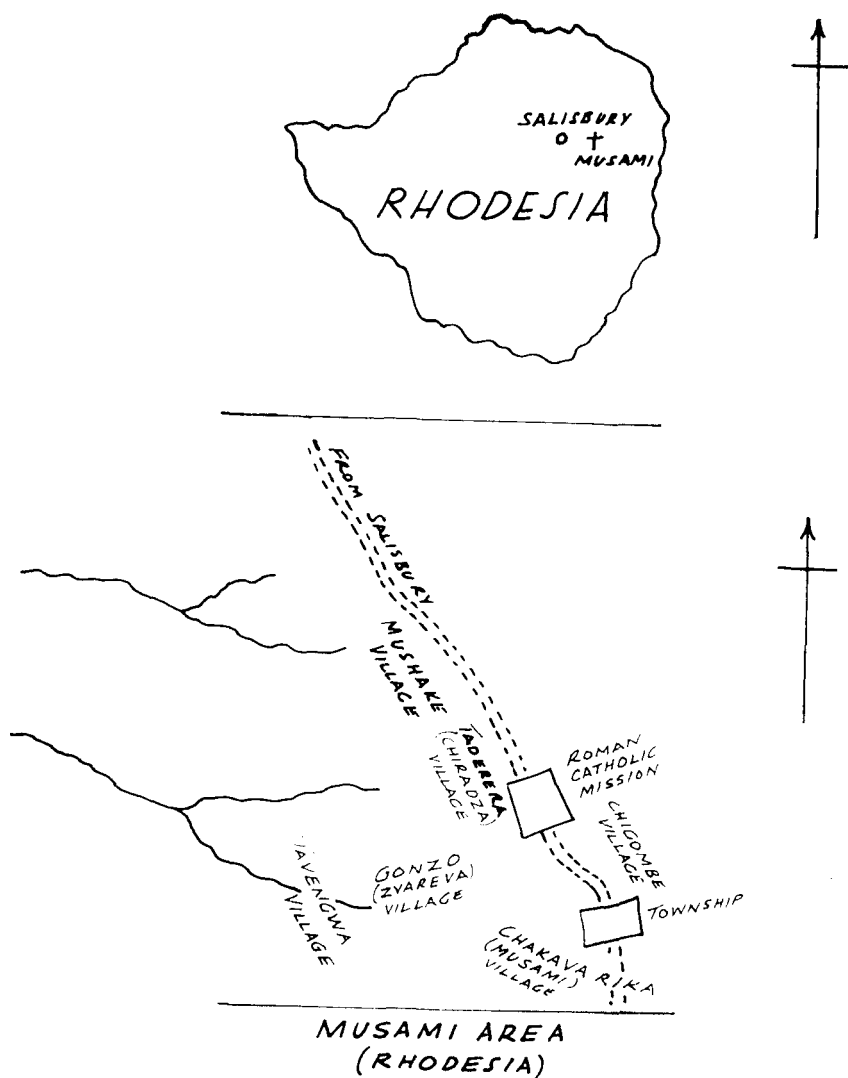
WORK HISTORY

- 1 How old were you when you left the reserve to seek work for the first time ?
- 2 What year was it ?
- 3 What standard of education had you passed at that time ?

Trip and Place	Year	Job Description	Wages per Month	Length of Stay (Months)	Was Family Present ?	Home Trip Purpose of Visit	Length of Stay (Months)

MARRIAGE STUDY

Name of Spouse	Where Did You Meet Her ?/him ?	Date of Marriage	Marriage Wealth	Type of Marriage	Date of Divorce	Date of Death



APPENDIX

THE CENSUS

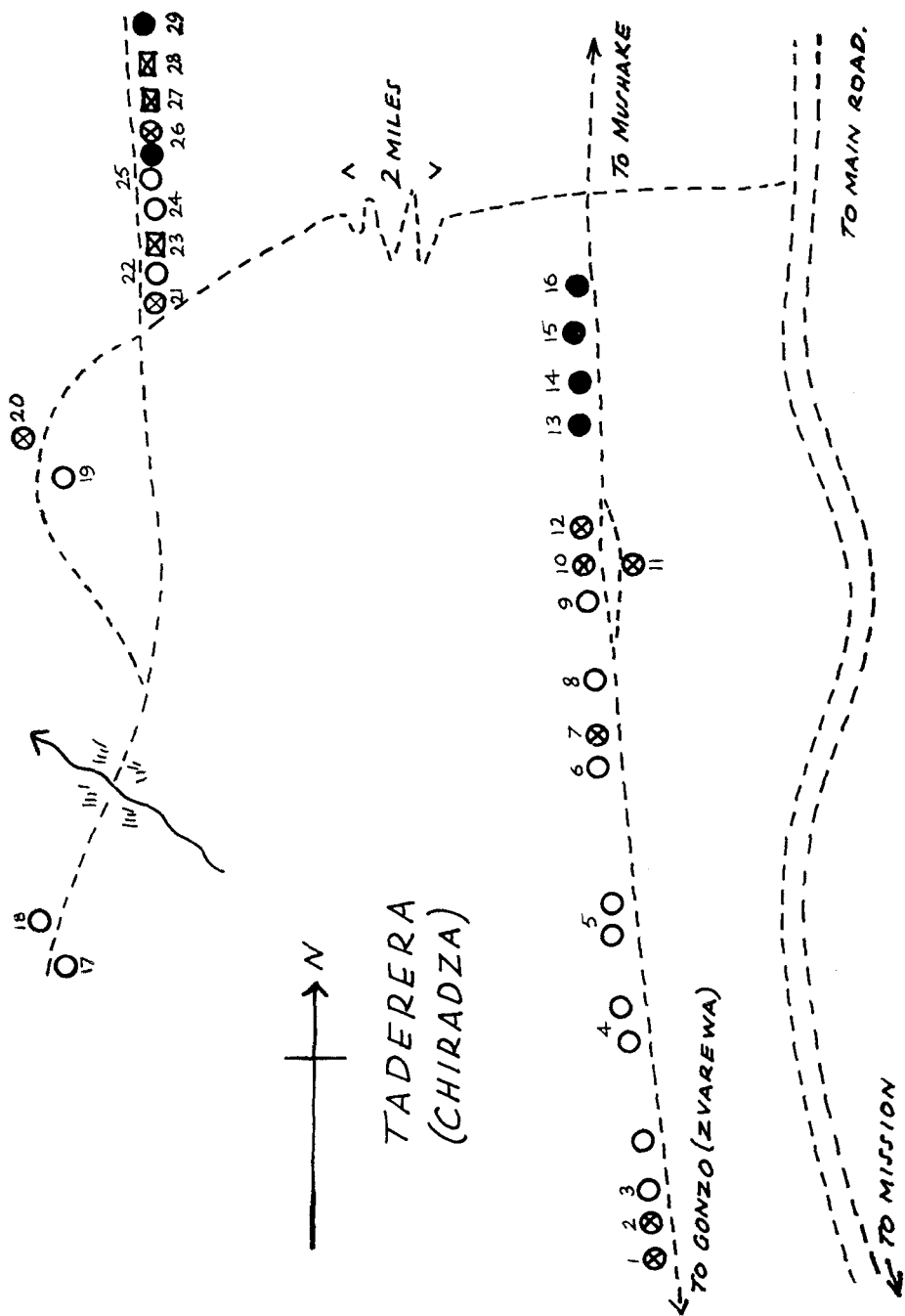
In this section I show the present householders and what has happened to others who were resident in 1958. The following symbols have been used in the preparation of the census material:

- H — Husband
- W — Wife
- C — Children
- M — Male
- F — Female
- Mi — Male Migrant
- Fi — Female Migrant
- D — Dead
- CR — Co-residents

In the preparation of the maps the following symbols were used:

- — Derelict or abandoned dwelling
- — Household of a member of the dominant lineage
- ◐ — Household of a member of the cognatic section
- — Alien household

All the maps have been drawn to a scale of approximately six miles to the inch.



CENSUS

TADERERA (CHIRADZA) VILLAGE

1. Derelict. The hut belonged to Vambe who left the village.
2. Derelict. The hut belonged to two women, Munyadi and Makawanesu, who are now dead.
3. (a) The hut belongs to Lawrence, son of Vambe (3). Lawrence and his wife normally live in town and the hut is being used by Chiradza, Lawrence's younger brother.
 3. H: Vambe
 W: Monica
 C: Rita Fi, Otilia Fi, Lawrence Mi, Jojo Mi, Sylvester Mi, Prisca Fi, Chiradza M
 CR: Emaculata F, Raphael M, Johannes M, Rosemary F, Emmanuel M
 Rita and Otilia are divorcees and are both working in town. Lawrence and Jojo live with their wives in town. Sylvester is a member of the police force in Bulawayo, and Prisca has become a nun.
4. The hut belongs to Zumbunu. His wife died. Zumbunu is the former headman of the village. He gave his title to his son because of old age and he is now a very sick man.
4. (a) This hut belonged to Zumbunu (4). It is now used by Chamunorwa's second wife Rainet and her daughter Elizabeth. Chamunorwa lives at hut No. 5.
5. H: Chamunorwa
 W: Bernadette
 C: Kaseke M, Claudio Mi, Apronia F, Timoth M, Kisto M, Atanasia M, Conrad M
 Kaseke is married but lives here. Claudio is working in town. Apronia is married and has left the village. Timoth and Kisto are attending school in town.
5. (a) This hut is occupied by Kaseke, his wife Veronica, and children, Bridgita F, Disma F, Elizabeth F, John M. Kaseke is a son of Chamunorwa (5).
6. H: Taderera
 W: Juliana
 C: Regina F, Christopher M, Robina F, Alexander M, Veronica Fi, Wilfred M, Stella Fi, Gilbert M, Rosaria Fi, Porti M
 CR: Pauline, Porti M
 Taderera is now a spirit medium. Regina is married to Mativengwa (hut 27). Christopher now lives in hut 20. Stella, Rosaria and Veronica are said to be prostitutes in Salisbury. Veronica is a divorcee.
7. Derelict. Zakaora and her husband are both dead.
8. The hut belongs to Wilfred, son of Taderera, but Wilfred normally lives in town with his wife Robina and children, Terry M, Nikiwe F, Nemayi F, and Midia F.
9. H: Christopher Mi
 W: Angela
 C: Letitsia F, Richard M, Renard M, Alexander M, Binos M, Benedict M, Mestilda F, Stanslous M
 CR: Binos M
10. Derelict. Mucharunga and his wife Rungai who lived here divorced. Rungai now lives with her children in Chigombe village. Mucharunga is working in town.
11. Derelict. Family has moved to Bika village. Family consisted of—
 H: Mari
 W: Matsadzi
 C: Steniya M, Misi F, Anastinthia F, Edward M, Moses M, Mavuma M
 Mari divorced his wife before leaving the village.
12. Derelict. The family of Mandizvidza moved to Chigombe village.
 H: Mandizvidza
 W: Hela
 C: Bernard M, Natsio M, Francis M
13. H: Stanslous Mushananga
 W: Plakisedes
 C: Joseph M, Stanslaus M
 Muchemwa's family who used to live here moved to Tavengwa village.

14. H: Mushaniga
W: Merganzioana
C: Jovani M, Victoria F, Retitsia F, Muyengwa M, David M, Patricia F, James M
15. (a) H: Champion
W: Betty
C: Epafania F, Criana F
Champion is son of Chinyani (hut 16). The hut belonged to Saniso and his family. Saniso and his wife Shoniga died. All their children left the village.
16. H: Chinyani
W: Yaranda
C: Marumbeni F, Ebero M, Campion M, Kansio M, Erica F, Retina F, Shatisaii F
CR: Rosi F
Marumbeni has married and left home. Ebero stays at the Roman Catholic Mission where he works. Erica is about to be married. Part of the *roora* has been paid.

LINE A

17. Nyanyiwa and his wife Nyange have left the village. Dwellings now occupied by:
H: Mrengc
W: Erivorata
C: Makanyara F, Emiria F
18. Dwellings now occupied by:
H: Thomas
W: Peregia
C: Emeria F, Scolastica F
Thomas is the son of the headman Chienda. Munemo who lived here died. His wife Achina and children left the village.
18. (a) H: Mushapaidzi
W: Beulla
C: Christopher M, Irenc F
CR: Elizabeth F, Maideyi F
This family settled here three years ago.

LINE D

19. Dwellings now occupied by:
H: Mutandwa
W: Teresa
C: Emanuel M, Josephine F, Sophia F, Olivia F, Rafael M, Pasken M
This family has been here for two years. The previous occupiers, Mutewe and family, left for Zambia.
20. Derelict. Christopher and his wife Porina now live in town.
21. Derelict. This hut was occupied by:
H: Lancelot
W: Christina
C: Ravanes F
Lancelot divorced his wife and now lives in town with his children.
22. H: Chienda
W: Christencia
C: Lancelot Mi, Thomas M, Eginia F, Charles M, Beulla F, Mutero M
Chienda is the present headman. Chienda has recently divorced his wife Matrida and married Christencia. Eginia married and left the village.
23. H: Tapfuma
W: Farasia
C: Aluis M, Carista F, Enuri M, Justina F, Stella F, Kret M, Rinos M
Aluis and Enuri are working in town. Carista is married and has left the village.
24. H: Angama
W: Manduudza
C: Farasia F, Raymond M, Anna F, Felix Mi, Veronica Fi, Skolastic F, Francisca Fi, Teresia F
CR: Bernard M, Johannes M, Felix M, Georgina F, Standeni F, Antony M
Farasia, Anna and Skolastic have married and left the village. Veronica and Francisca were divorced and are now prostitutes in town. Felix works in town.

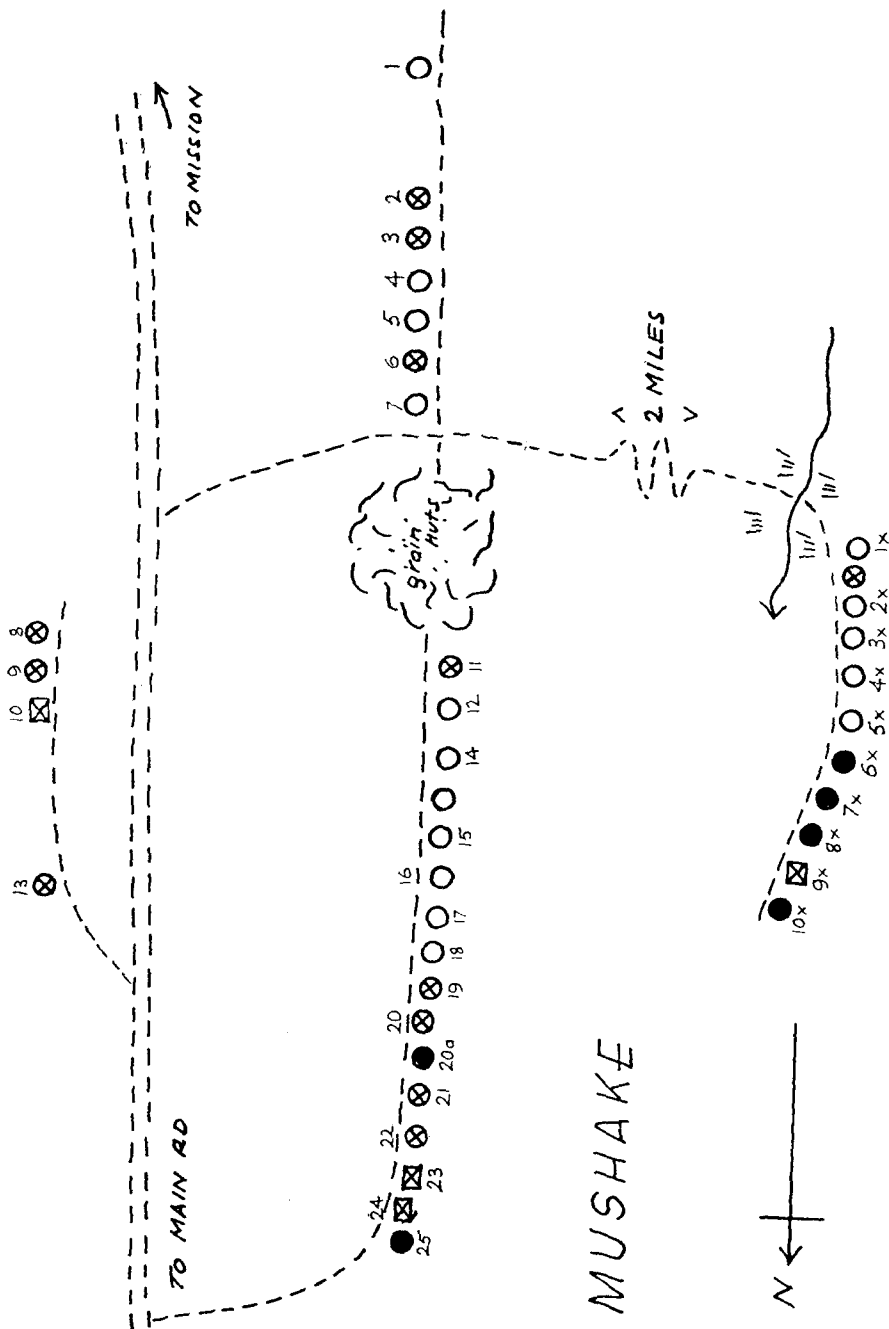
25. H: Raymond
W: Heren
C: Claudio M, Sebastian M, Fidelis M, Olivia F, Dick M, Tombi F, Basil M
26. H: Taungoma
W: Makumbi
C: Mandizvidza M, Eginia Fi, Merinia Fi, Scirria Fi, Josephine Fi, Muchabuya Mi, Gedenzia Fi, Nestori Mi, Onesimu Mi, Aksilia Fi
Mandizvidza now lives in Chigombe village. All other children have left the village.
27. H: Mativenga
W: Regina
C: Sirio Mi, Nancy Fi, Masafari Mi, Nefew F, Bibit F, Simon M, Severina M
Nancy was divorced and is now a prostitute in town. Musafari is working in town, as well as Sirio.

NEW DWELLINGS

28. H: Sirio
W: Alice
C: Modesta M, Skohliwe F
Sirio is the son of Mativenga (27).
29. H: Onesimo
W: Susan
C: George M, Maxwell M, Florence F, Angela F
Onesimo is the son of Taungona (26).

MUSHAKE VILLAGE

1. H: Mavudzi
W: Magrini
C: Shupi F, Dokas F, Filimon M
This dwelling belonged to Ngoshe. Ngoshe and his wife Chandigadza died. Their children Museruwa and Jonah now live in Tavengwa village.
2. Derelict. The previous occupier, Mesoo, died.
3. Derelict. A derelict hut belonging to Tapera who has left.
4. H: Remigio
W: Bernardett
C: Mauline F, Keneni M
5. Hut belongs to Katsaga. He is unmarried. His brother Jonga died.
6. Derelict.
7. H: Mushake
W: Azvibatwi
C: Tapfumaneyi M, Remigio M, Reya F, Roda F, Anna F
CR: Christina F, Rety F, Priscilla F, Christopher M, Koroni M
Tapfumaneyi is working in town. Remigio now lives at hut No. 4. The three daughters have married and left the village.
8. Derelict.
9. Derelict.
10. H: Stanslei
W: Aragumi
C: Urid F, Sidi M, Emiria F, John M, Sophia F
CR: Loveness F
11. Derelict. Hut belonged to Masambi who now lives at No. 4 in the second line.
12. W: Dzvowa
H: Chidembo D
13. Derelict.



14. H: Pasara
W: Masa
C: Gudi M, Benedict M, Ceresencia F, Maria F, Tambudzayi F, Verengai M
15. Boys' hut. Children of Pasara.
16. W2: Shaiko
C: Miresi F, Maudi F, Bebi F, Samisai F, Dora F, Fungirai M, Tafiri M
Mairesi and Maudi have married and left.
17. H: Kwesu
W: Madrini
C: Enis M, Kefas Mi, Munyakuri Fi, George M, Hosanna F, Rosa F, Philip M
CR: Christina F, Grace F
Enis lives at the Roman Catholic Mission. Kefas is working in town. Munyakuri is now a divorcee and is a prostitute in town. Hosanna married and left.
18. A spare room used by George, son of Kwesu.
19. Derelict. Mavudzi now lives at hut No. 1.
20. Derelict.
20. (a) H: Jairos Munhenzwa
W: Beritta
C: Madren F, Edwich F, Leveson M, Tonderayi M
21. Derelict.
22. Derelict.
23. H: Chintembo
W: Martha
C: Nicholas Mi, Maria F, Timoth M, Agnes F, Akumata F, Konsilia M
Maria married and left the village.
23. (a) Spare room for the children of Chintembo.
24. H: Kufakupere
W: Weni
C: Lerner M, Kennedy M, Kingstone M, Tirivanhu M, Bothwell M, Scolastica F
25. W: Maretekwa
H: Simi D
C: Chintembo M, Kufakupere M, Jera F, Erbetina F, Paiinzi F
CR: Loveness F
All children are now married and have left. Children 1 and 2 live elsewhere in the village.

SECOND LINE

1. H: James Shambare
W: Docas
C: Peter M, Lawrence M, Patricia F, Henry M
The hut belonged to Domani who has left the village.
2. Derelict. Sadzi has left the village.
2. (a) H: Marufu Shambare D
W: Zviyarayo
C: James M, Henry M, Lawrence M, Conrad M, Misheck M
This family has lived here for 16 years.
3. H: Lawrence
W: Chipso
C: Febi F
The hut belonged to Masango who has left the village.

NEW DWELLINGS

4. H: Muzambi
W2: Docus
C: Sevi F, Fani M, Fibios M, Stella F, Sofa F, Aaron M
5. W1: Marara
C: Anna F, Netti F, Muchaneta F, Naison M, Isak M, Rudo F
6. H: Mudimu
W: Marry
C: Sanslie Mi, Cephas M, Boy M, Anna F, Terry M, Samuel M, Sabastian M, Joseph M

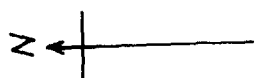
7. H: Stanslie Mi
W: Margaret
C: Eugenia F
8. H: Makukuwe Mi
W: Mabel
C: Wilfred M, Sebastian M, Conrad M, Emanuel M, Ignatius M
Children 1, 4 and 5 are attending school in town where the father works.
9. H: Savanhu
W: Maria
C: George M, Michael M, Edison M
CR: Marachia M
10. H: Marayanyika
W: Elizabeth
C: Alice F, Ester F, John M

GONZO (ZVAREWA) VILLAGE

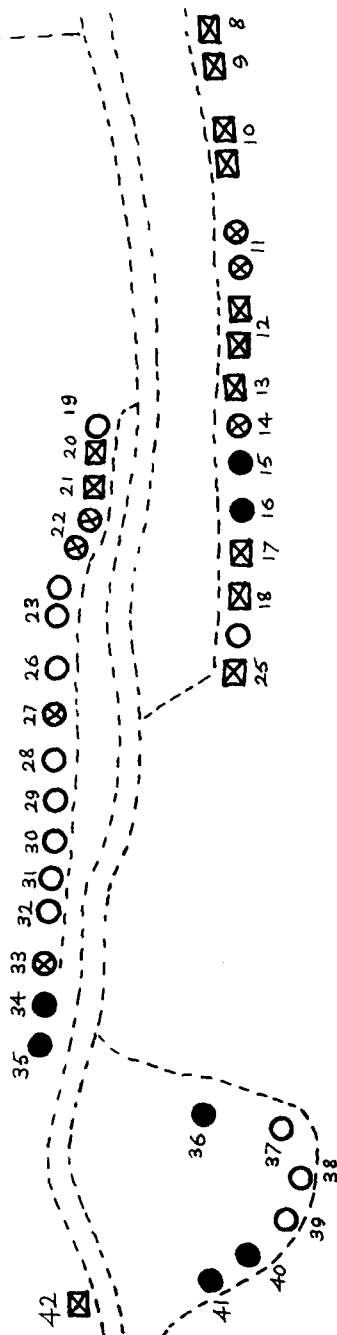
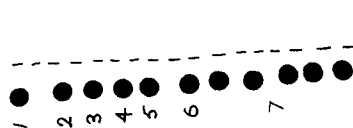
1. W2: Rena
C: Robert M, Thomas M, Porina F, John M, Felix M, Webster M, Charles M, Ignatius M
2. H: Gabriel Mi
W1: Dorothy
C: Aptonia F, Patricia F, Remigio M, Richard M, Andrew M, Anna F
2. (a) W: Paii
H: Kamanda D
C: Rino Mi, Matew Mi, Gabriel Mi, Kusanga M, Peren F
3. H: Gabriel
W3: Regina
C: Edwig Mi, Alexander MD, Christina F, Julia F, Johannes M, Ellen F
4. H: Biri
W: Tamboneyi
C: Simon Mi, Maptumo Mi, Dambi M, Victoria F, Francis Mi, Joan F, Innocent M, Tobias M, Anna F and Agnes F, Cyrian M
CR: Anna F
5. H: Kusanga
W: Mabel
C: Tendai M, David M, Chamunorwa M, Theresa F
Hut belonged to Dambi who left the village.

NEW DWELLINGS

5. (a) H: Takadirwa
W: Sophia
C: Veronica F, Prisca F, Cornilia F, Takamaya M, Judith F, Charles M, Sheki M, Luka M
CR: Remioni M
6. H: Mateketa
W: Violet
C: Lazarus M, Big Boy M, Jennifer F, Margaret F, Sheki M, Moses M
6. (a) H: Mhondiwa
W: Serina
C: Francisca F, Felicia F, Patricia F, Frederick M
CR: Musara F, Martin M
6. (b) H: Mbidzo
W: Monica
C: Simon



CONZO
(ZVAREVA)



7. H: Gororo
W: Margaret
C: Timothy M, Sylvester M, Makaonesu F, Barnabas MD, Viola F
7. (a) Dumba Mi
W: Merenciana
C: Exaverio M, Kilford M, Agnes F, Christopher M, Canisios M, Dorot F, Enereta F
7. (b) H: Marko Mi
W: Getrude
C: Bigboy MD, Mekirini F
CR: Lucia F

OLD DWELLINGS

8. H: Vintadi
W: Rusia
C: Sebastian Mi, Rusia F, Christopher M, Eren F
CR: Obet M, Jerita F
Rusia has married and left the village.
8. (a) H: Christopher
W: Febi
C: Calisto M, Charles M, Gift M, Irene F, Peregia F, Veronica F
9. H: Mudzingwa
W: Gomba
C: Mariko M, Keresensia F
CR: Micah M, Judith F
10. (a) H: Mariko
W2: Florence
C: Brighton M, Godfrey M, Alice F, Obet M, Cecilia F
10. (b) W1: Megi
C: Juna F, Judy F, Alexander M, Barbara F, Sererino M, Rachel F, Stanley M, Tombi F
11. Derelict.
Hut belonged to Martin. Martin and his wife Siria died. All children left the village.
11. (a) Derelict.
12. W: Maria
H: Vera D
C: Angela F, Joseph M, Cecilia F, Patrick Mi, Anna F, Manure Mi, Gabriel M
CR: Stephen M, Maria F, Lovemore M, David M
13. H: Joseph
W: Regina
C: Taunezvi M, Aren M, Anodis F, Faro M
14. Derelict. The hut belonged to Mushandi. He bought a farm in Mount Darwin area of Rhodesia.
15. H: Taona
W: Julia
C: Kevin MD, Tombi FD, Retitsia F, Constance F, Stella F
Chamunorwa who owned the hut died. and his family left the village.
16. H: Muchineripi
W: Gladys
C: Rosemary
CR: Netsai F, Tabita F, Member M
17. H: Robert
W: Anna
C: Musafare F, Tsitsi F, Tombi F, and a baby girl
18. H: Chagoneyi
W: Jennifer
C: Ravenes FD, Tichaona M, Biuta F, Shetter F, Edison M, Ruka M, Hilda F
19. W: Sekesa
H: Manindi D
C: Jeremiah M, Kambara M, Anastansia F, Namo M, Joani M, Chikomborera M

20. H: Thomas
W: Cecilia
C: Praksedes F, Robert M, Joanis M, Joan M, Kadio F, Josephine F
21. H: Kari
W: Emilia
C: December M, Chuno F, Fani M, Mark M, George MD, Constantine M, Stephen M, Calista M
22. Derelict. Kachinda who lived here left the village after the death of his wife.
22. (a) H: David D
W: Speres
C: Chandidza Mi, Masiwa M
CR: Jennifer F
23. H: Mugwagwa
W1: Rusi
C: David M, Retitsia F, Martin M, Auxilia F
CR: Peregia F, Angelina F
23. (a) W2: Emiridia
C: Chisai F, Josephine F, Perpetua F
CR: Onias M, Gona F
Emiridia was divorced by her husband Mugwagwa and left the village. The children now live with Gona, Mugwagwa's mother.
24. H: Mufambi
W: Anna
C: Savirio M, Norbet M, Petros M, Jennifer F
CR: Shugurudza F
25. H: Chikadzona D
W: Gadziwa D
C: Maria F, Mangasana F, Chataya F, Muneri M, Biata F, Agnes F, Pasko Mi
Muneri is now head of the family.
26. W: Shungadidza
H: Zvarewa Gonzo D
27. Derelict.
28. A spare room for:
29. H: Zvarewa
W1: Esta
C: Francis M, Chikonyaka MD
30. W2: Emuri
C: Parasiva Mi, Sedia F, Pio Mi, Merideyi F, Alfred M, Takanyorwa M, Krala F, Alexia M
CR: Peter M, Prusiosa F, Portia F
Sedia and Merideyi have married and left the village.
31. H: Pio
W: Alice
C: Richard M
31. (a) H: Paraziva Mi
W: Akurina
C: Koreta F, Cleveria F, Dick M, Cleto M
32. H: Francis
W: Serisa
C: Garikai M, Maswedzeni F, Sama M, Itai M, Revai F, Fiona F
33. Derelict.
34. H: Muchazivepi
W: Keresencia
C: Revison Mi, Lovemore M, Chipu F, Gladys F
35. H: Sekiwa
C: Muchazivepi Mi, Kabido M, Kurambiwa Mi, Tapera M, Joan F, Chipu F, Chisetumwe F, Biata F
All the children are away except Kabido. Sekiwa divorced his wife Shangaidza.
36. Occupied by Kabido, son of Sekiwa. The hut belonged to Magomore who left the village.

37. H: Shuriwa
 W1: Matekera
 C: Ereni F, Anna FD, Magi FD, Emmanuel M, Peter M, Maria F, Mangoreyi Mi, Colletta MD, Anina F, Michael Mi, Rusi F, Tambudzai F, Tsuro Mi, Tombina F, Matariana Mi
 CR: Gift M

NEW DWELLINGS

38. H: Peter
 W: Dorothy
 C: Edmore M
 Peter is the son of Shuriwa (37).
39. H: Emmanuel
 W: Angela
 C: Lovemore M, Lawrence M
 Emmanuel is the son of Shuriwa (37).
40. H: Kawenje D
 W: Konkilia
 C: Cleveria F, Benjamin M
 CR: Lazarus M, Winstone M
40. (a) W2: Agnes
 Kawenje is not related to the headman. He came here because the soil is better than in his former village. Kawenje's first wife is Agnes. Agnes, however, failed to produce children, and Kawenje was given Konkilia as a replacement. Konkilia is Agnes' brother's daughter.
41. H: Jacha D
 W: Agnes
 C: Apronia F, Lucia F, Maud F, Ephraim Mi, Teresa F, Maria F
 CR: Colleta F
 All the daughters have married and left the village.
42. H: Daniel D
 W: Veronica
 C: John Mi, Peter Mi, Urita F
 CR: Luke M
 Veronica is the sister of Vera (12).

CHIGOMBE (DENHERE) VILLAGE

1. H: Shereni D
 W: Kasarina
 C: Nikodim M, Netsai F, Zebediah M, Winnie F, Masina F, Siteni M, Benjamin M, John M, Edith F, Scolastica F
 Kasarina is now married to Marko.
2. H: Denhere
 W: Veronica
 C: Christina F, Tavengwa M, Placdes F
 CR: Barbara F, Michael M, Gabriel M
 Tavengwa is the present headman.
2. (a) Hut used by William M, Michael M, Gabriel M and Lokadia F, grandsons and daughter of Denhere.
3. H: Mativenga Mi
 W: Nangaidza
 C: Chipu F, Maringisa F, Jorge M, Sarudzai F
4. H: Tavengwa
 W1: Emiria
 C: Chamunorwa Mi, Bernadette F, Constantino M
 CR: Simon M
 Bernadette has married and lives in the village.



5. Derelict.
6. Derelict. The hut belonged to Freddie who left the village. He divorced his wife who now lives with the children in Murombedzi village some miles away.
7. Derelict. The previous owner, Joseph, has moved to Murombedzi village.
8. H: Chikwerenge
W2: Daina
C: Merenziana F, Doris F, Champion M, Keriviria F, Ravenes F, Turesi F
Merenziana has married and left the village.
8. (b) W2: Naome
C: Immaclat F, Simon Mi
Immaclat married and left the village.
9. H: Kapuru
W2: Namo
CR: Andrew M
9. (a) W3: Erika
C: Josi F
10. Derelict. Shaiasita and wife Hunde who lived here are both dead. All children have left the village.
11. Derelict. Previous occupier Mupfuiwa now lives at the Roman Catholic Mission. His wife Teresa died.
12. W: Maho
H: Chaparadza D
C: Rungai M, Chimombe Mi, Kufahakurotwe M, Kufakunesu M, Mutasa Mi, Vera F, Munindi Mi
13. W: Raina
H: Zumbunu D
C: Munemo M, Mapfumo M, Joseph M, Ephraim M, Theresa F, Maria F
CR: Emerenciana F
13. (a) H: Ephraim
W: Ella
C: Chenai F, Eunice F, Wadzanai F, Chishamiso F, Knowledge M
CR: Stephen M
Ephraim is the son of Zumbunu (13).
14. (a) H: Mapfumo Mi
W: Elizabeth
C: Chengirai M, Oneday M, Clever M, Morgan M, Panganai M, Taurayi M, Teresa F
15. H: Rusere
W: Kadandare
C: None
CR: Lydia F
The hut belonged to Joseph who now lives at No. 19.
15. (a) H: Sylvester
W: Teresa
C: Godfrey M, Alice F, Clara F, Augustine M, Stanslous M, Fungai F
16. H: Lawrence
W: Agnes
C: Lawrence
CR: Gibson M
The hut belonged to Chimombe who left the village.
17. H: Chiangwa Mi
W: Marita
C: Resi F, Lovemore M, Jennifer F, Stanford M, Godfrey M, Biggie M, Paradzai M, Zvichapera M, Shinet F
Resi has married and left the village.
18. H: Munemo
W: Marionne
C: Herbert M, Erekiti F, Anisto M, Nuere M, Babygirl F, New Year M, Richard M
CR: Francis
Child 1 has married and lives in the village. Child 2 has married and left the village.

18. (a) H: Herbert
W: Berita
C: Francis M
19. H: Joseph
W: Patricia
C: Anna F, Agnes F, Gedion M, Charles M, Letitsia F, Fatima F, Ephraim M, Ignatius M
The hut belonged to Chidemo who has moved to another village about half a mile away.
20. H: Masiwa
W: Erisi
C: Chiratidzo M, Kanengeza F, Chengetayi F, Chenzira M, Tirivangani M, Dambudzo F, Lilian F, Kefas M, Muchaneta F, Chiyedzo F
CR: Abigal F, Tonderayi F
Child 1 has married and lives in the village. The second child has married and left the village.
21. H: Nhokwara
W1: Chipo
C: Paul M, Lyon M, Michael M, Victoria F, Angelina F
The hut belonged to Apronia who has left the village.
21. (a) W2: Francisca
C: Tandiwe F, Never M, Tichafa M
22. H: Madzunga Mi
W: Elizabeth
C: Joannas Mi, Kirian M, Claudio M, Prisca F, Ignacio M
23. Derelict. The hut belonged to Chakanyuka who now lives at the Mission Station where he works.
24. Derelict. The previous occupier Munjai died. Her children have all left the village.
25. Derelict. Mondita who lived here died, and all her children now live in town.
26. W: Tadirai
H: Mashamba D
C: Mandinema F, Musindo M, Lovemore Mi
CR: Martin M, Emaculata F
27. H: Musindo
W: Rachael
C: Nicholas M, Boniface M, Veronica F
The hut was owned by Tavasadza who has left the village.
27. (a) H: Enock
W: Agnes
C: Elizabeth F, Madzunga M
28. H: Lawrence
W: Maria
C: Nicholas M, Moses M, Anna F
The hut belonged to Nyamayaro who left the village.
29. Derelict. The hut belonged to Nyikadzino. He divorced his wife Mandinoma and moved to another village.
30. H: Pio Manyangi
W: Emma
C: Emmanuel Mi, Nyikadzino Mi, Winnie Fi, Mitchell M, Rosa F, Theresa F, Simon M
CR: Clara F
31. The hut belonged to Luka Masango. He moved to another village. Dwellings now occupied by Emmanuel, son of Pio Manyangi. Emmanuel, however, is presently living in town with his family.
32. H: Matienga
W: Nangaidzo
C: Chipo F, Sarudzai F, Felicia F, Kevesia F, Martin M, Chakadona MD, Sipiwe F, Verencia F, George M
CR: Rudo F, Netsai F, Francis M, Edmore M, Mashura F

33. H: Nasi
 W: Agnes
 C: Anna F, Christina F, Beatrice F, Emmanuel Mi, Charles M, Rosemary F,
 Calista F, Rosewina F, Onesimo M
 CR: Lawrence M, Exaverio M, Patricia F

LINA A

- 1x. F: Emerenciana
 C: Josephine F
 CR: Fidelis F, Susan F
 Emerenciana is a divorcee. Her mother and that of the headman are sisters.
- 2x. H: Muzanenamo
 W: Emily
 C: Keresencia F, Juliet F, Kumbirayi F, Emma F, Placedes F, Munyaradzi M
 CR: Mavis F, Reason M, Esebia F
 Muzanenamo's mother and that of the headman belong to the same lineage.
- 3x. H: Muzanenamo D
 W: Tambudzai
 C: Mandizvidza M, Muzanenamo M, Takaendesa M, Michael M, Mutizwa M
 CR: Magaya M, David M
 Tambudzai is the mother of Muzanenamo (2x).
- 3x. (a) H: Mutizwa
 W: Murungwa
 C: Hilda F, Christopher M, Murungwa F
 Mutizwa is the young brother of Muzanenamo (2x).
- 4x. H: Takaendesa
 W: Maria
 C: Akusiria F, Agnes F, John M, Tasi M, Aluis M, Leonard M
 Takaendesa is another brother of Muzanenamo (2x).
- 5x. H: Anthony
 W: Mary
 C: Reason M, Calista F, Emmanuel M, Maideyi F
 Anthony is the son of the headman.
- 6x. H: Hakuonekwi
 W: Constance
 C: Peter Mi, Kalista F, Clara Fi, Paul Mi, Francis Mi, Stanslous Mi, Rita Fi, Juliani Fi, Elizabeth Fi
 All children except Kalista are working in town.
- 7x. W: Judith
 H: Makwanya D
 C: Joseph Mi, Elias Mi, Kenneth Mi, Cornelia F, Enereta F, Venencia F
 CR: Pension M, Moses M
 Children 4 and 6 are married and have left the village. The fifth child is said to be a prostitute in town.
- 8x. H: Elias
 W: Emengilda
 C: Paradzai M, Tengai M, Richard M, Towineyi MD
 Elias is the son of Judith (7x).
 CR: John M
- 9x. H: Alexio Tombe
 W: Winfrida
 C: Bernard M, Ignatius M, Francis M, Emmanuel M, Patricia F, Barbara F
- 10x. H: Mandishona
 W: Euphrasia
 C: Patrick M, Evaristo M, Robert M, Felistas F
- 11x. H: Muchenje D
 W: Erista
 C: Dasi F, Esta F, Naumi F, Chipo F, Elexio Mi, George Mi
 CR: Dixon M, Petros M, Charles M
 The first children are married and have left the village. The fourth is said to be a prostitute in town.

- 12x. H: Ignatius
W: Rachel
C: Kunga F, Enia F
- 13x. H: Mucharunga D
W: Rungai
C: Bridgita F, Rosemary F, Maria F, Frascisca F, Felix M, Makechemu M, Murambiwa M
CR: Clemence M, Donfrem F, Debra F
Child No. 1 is said to be a prostitute in town. Child No. 2 is married and has left the village. Rungai calls the headman *sekuru* (uncle).
- 14x. H: Chimombe
W: Emiria
C: Virginia F, Fidelis M, Canisio M, Mandisema F, Josephine F, Timothy M
Chimombe used to live at plot No. 16.
- 15x. H: Lawrence
W: Edith
C: Violet F, Chamunorwa M, Langton M
CR: Chenayi F
Lawrence calls the headman *mukwasha* (brother-in-law). He left his village in Uzumba when both his parents died during the same week.
- 16x. H: Simon
W: Beatrice
C: Doka F, Pingi M, James M, Mary F, Ahuis M, Robson M, Christina F
Simon is not related to the headman.
- 17x. H: Chiratidzo
W: Edwick
C: Evermore M, Anersita F

LINE B

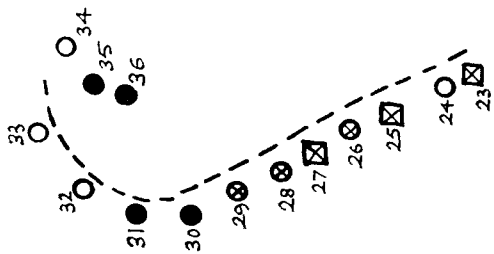
- 1B. H: Kujeke
W: Ederina
C: Fani M, Careful M, Jennifer F, Reeves M, Wilfred M, Mabel F, Oliver M, Tandiwe F
Child No. 3 married and left the village. Kujeke's son married the headman's daughter.
- 2B. W2: Eresi
C: Wonder M, Mekirina F, Never M, Sesifa F
- 3B. H: Fani
W: Bernadette
C: Norman M, Exerio M, Martin M, Itai M
Fani is the son of Kujeke (1B).
- 4B. H: Chifeya
W: Chipo
C: Corren F, Abigail F, Catherine F, Felix M
Chifeya calls the headman *Mukwasha* (brother-in-law).

CHAKAVARIKA (MUSAMI) VILLAGE

1. H: Machivenyika D
W: Sekesayi
C: Kufa M, Kunga F, Cornwall M, Gibson M
CR: Takawira M
2. Derelict. Hut belonged to Mukonde. He left the village.
3. H: Moffat M
W: Gertrude
C: Peter M, Lois F, Godfrey M, Erecta M, Winnie F, Epiphania F, John M, Kilford M
CR: Bigbrain M, Lloyd M
Lois has married and left the village.

TO TADERERA (CHIRADZA)

TO MISSION

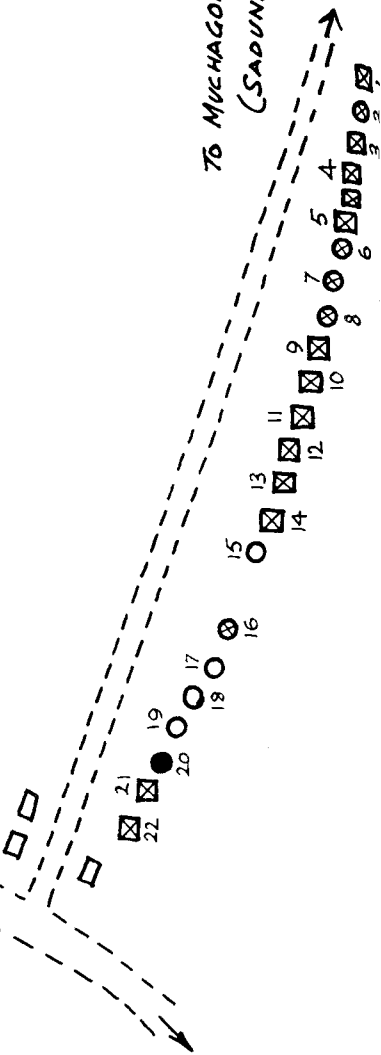


CHAKAVARIKA (MUSAMI)

POLICE
STATION

SHOPS

TO MUCHAGONEZI
(SADUNHU)

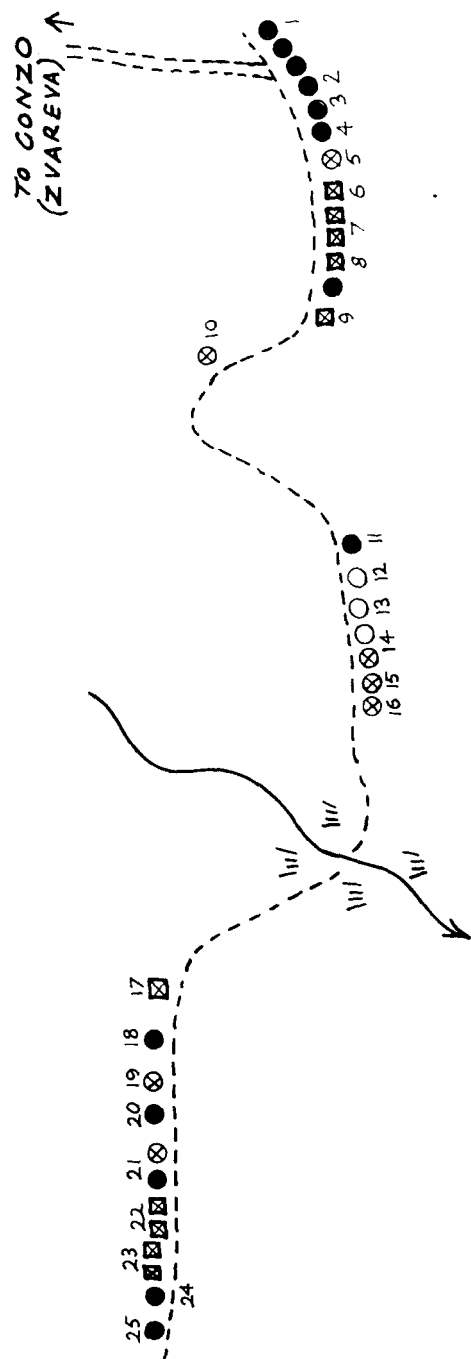


4. H: Hoffis Mi
W: Susanna
C: Kuripton Mi, Aluis M, Window M, Winnie F, Morgan M
CR: Correta F, Shephard M, Charles M, Jannet F
4. (a) H: Aluis
W: Jenet
C: Charles M, Asel M
5. Derelict. Hut belonged to Muswereni. She left the village with all her children.
6. H: Ricordo Mi
W: Betty
C: Richard M, Arris F, Martha F, Moses M, Crispen M, Vengisai M, Grace F
7. Derelict.
8. H: Buka
W: Masiwa
C: Angera F, Mabel F, Dennis M, Mugwagwa M
CR: Gift
9. H: Musanu
W1: Keresia
C: Kostantina MD, Ranginasi M, Apronia F, Koreta F, Koreneria F, Saferio M, Dokas F
10. W2: Chibiiso
C: Serivo Mi, Sabastien Mi, Conrad Mi, Francis M
CR: Knowledge M, Tendai M
11. H: Gano
W: Gombo D
C: Mao F, Musuna M, Nira M, Buka M, Roda F, Elizabeth F
12. H: Nira Mi
W: Nari
C: Bernard Mi, Matensene F, Mishek M, Dominico M, Norman M, Eileen M
13. F: Rhoda Fi
Rhoda is a daughter of Gano (11). She has a house in town but comes home frequently.
14. W: Pasinthia
H: Newton D
C: Emmanuel M, Venencia F, Konsilia F, Isabel F, Everisto M, Edmonton M
15. H: Madzidza D
W: Matisa
C: Porina F, Chiangwa M
16. Derelict. Tambudzai who lived here left after the death of her husband Muchadzi.
17. H: Machona Mi
W: Ferris
C: Nesita F, Rosa F, Nicholas M, Elliot M, Jerasi M, Dudzai M, Elias M, Douglas M
18. H: Musami
W: Munzara
C: Gore Mi, Machona Mi, Maringisa F, Francisca F, Marna F, Regi Mi, Francis Mi, Pindu Mi
19. H: Chiangwa
Chiangwa divorced his wife Enia and she left with all the children. She now lives at her father's village.
19. (a) H: Chingono
W: Matambura
C: Catherine F, Chinembiri M, Angeline F, Tazviziya F, Matirasa F, Ekim M, Emilda F
20. Derelict. The hut belonged to Gore who has left the village.
21. H: Muvirimi Mi
W: Margaret
C: Joyu F, Winnie F, Felix M, Tembo M, Wenslous M, Kambion M, Victoria F, Ceresencia F
Child No. 1 has married and left the village.

22. H: Mandaroma
W: Matau
C: Keresencia F, Muvirimi Mi
Both children have left the village.
23. H: Nyama
W: Chatisai
C: Shipondiwa Mi, Tangisai Mi, Diniwe Mi, Paradzai Mi, Matiziva M, Chipso F
24. H: Chatesvi
W: Tengeyi
C: Peter Mi, Teresa F, Feridi M, Rosina F, Shem M, Boni M, Elias M, John M, George M
25. H: Mavunga D
W: Riries
C: Mathews M, Never M, Jeni F, Charles M, Shapi M, Lawrence M
26. Derelict.
27. H: Herbert Mi
W1: Martha
C: Mevi F, Bonfass M, Flora F, Shingirai M, Eunice F, Tichaona M, Tracy F, Herbert M
CR: Thomas M
27. (a) W2: Ida
C: Stembile F, Godfrey M, Kenneth M
28. Derelict. The hut belonged to Andrew who now lives in Zambia.
29. Derelict.
30. H: Forbes
W: Enisa
C: Lizy F, Patricia F, Stanslous M, Edina F, Sheriza F
Forbes is not related to the headman.
31. W: Chirongo
C: Forbes M
CR: David M
Chirongo is the mother of Forbes (30). Her husband is dead.
32. Hut belongs to Cesiria, daughter of Chiangwa (19). She, however, lives in town most of the time.
33. W: Mawo
H: Nzvere D
C: Paul Mi, Martha F, Samuel M, Kenneth M, Zebediah Mi, Naumi F
CR: Aaron M
Mawo calls the headman *baba* (father).
34. H: Mirion Mi
W: Maria
C: Teresa F, Marko M, Elizabeth F, Winnie F, Davie M, Moses M, Joseph M, Josephina F
CR: Msami
Mirion's wife is daughter of Musami, elder brother of the present headman. Mirion comes from Malawi.
35. H: Phineas
W: —
C: Feruna F, Tendai M, Charakupa M
Phineas has divorced his wife.
36. H: Tungandi D
W: Ceresencia
C: Gibson MD, Conrad M, Edwick F, Fatima F

TAVENGWA VILLAGE

1. H: Makwiramuti
W2: Dakaiteyi
C: Raisa F, Chakanetsa Mi



TAVENGWA



1. (a) H: Chakanetsa Mi
W: Eris
C: Charles M, Shadrack Mi, Chakanetsa M, Tamu M, Chivaraidzo M
CR: Patrimera F, Pellagia F
1. (b) Derelict. The hut belonged to Ndouu, first wife of Makwiramuti. She was divorced. She now lives at her parent's village. Her son Nyamayaro lives in the village but the other two children have left the village.
1. (c) H: Aaron
W: Anna
C: Susan F, Elias M, Gladys F
2. W: Gwanzira
H: Musodza D
C: Roda F, Jaidza F, Ndakaiteyi Fi, Dambudzo F, Masiwa Fi, Rainou F
CR: Fidelis F, Francis M, Ririosa F, Harina F, Prosiosa F, Peregia F
Roda, Jaidza and Dambudzo have married and left the village. Ndakaiteyi and Masiwa are prostitutes in town.
3. This hut belongs to a divorcee, Raina. She is a daughter of Gwanzira.
4. H: Warambwa
W: Roda
C: Magna M, Ngoshe M
CR: Jonna M
The hut belonged to Kawenje, who left the village.
5. Derelict. The hut belonged to Tapfuma who left the village.
6. W: Jenet
H: Wihenje D
C: Mudzingwa Mi, Tapfuma Mi, Monica F, Edes F, Takurakura F, Letitsia F, Jojo M, Maria F
6. (a) W: Madziweyi
H: Gwase D
C: Sylvester Mi, Zvidzai M, Matenzi F, Sophia F, Maria F, Sikai M
CR: Madyiweyi F
6. (b) H: Zvidzayi
W: Serenica
C: Daniel M, Peter Mi, Esnath F, Faith F, Prisca F, Nhamo M
CR: Mtandwa F
6. (c) F: Takurakura, daughter of Jenet (6), lives here with her child. She is a divorcee.
7. Derelict. The hut belonged to Jojo who left the village.
8. H: Muchadzi Mi
W: Sarudzai
C: Stella F, Joachim M, Eginina F, Maviana Mi, Fina F, Goodwin M, Nicholas M
Eginina has married and left the village.
9. W: Chikadzi
H: Takundwa D
C: Killian Mi, Lisi F, Wensti M
CR: Big M, Everisto M, Angela F
10. Derelict.
11. H: Zvidzayi
W: Nesi
C: Dadirayi F, Selina F, Tichaona M, Tafirenyika M
This hut belonged to Takadirwa who now lives in Gonzo village.
12. H: Munetsi
W: Monshona
C: Vincent Mi
CR: Angela F, George M
13. H: Tavengwa
W: Angela
C: Venda F, Kasian M, Emirja FD, Eren F, Nessi F, Stella Fi, Naison M, Patrick M, Winnie F, Rudo F, Sternkeni F
Children 4, 9, 10 and 11 have married and left the village. Nessi is also married

but lives in the village with her husband. Tavengwa divorced his wife Emiria and married Angela. Kasian is now the acting village headman because Tavengwa is too old.

13. (a) H: Patrick
W: Georgina
C: Brain M, Alois M
Patrick is the son of Tavengwa.
14. Derelict. The hut belonged to Muchineripi who has moved to Gonzo village.
15. Derelict. The hut belonged to Tanira who has moved to Gonzo village.
16. Derelict. The hut belonged to Verenica who has moved to Chiteme village some miles away.
17. H: Kefas
W: Ester
C: Stanford M
CR: Bigboy M, George M, Mavis F
The hut belonged to Kefas' parents, Mangeya and Aragumi, who are now both dead. Kefas' brother and sisters live in town.
18. H: Dake
W: Beatrice
C: Kefas M, Toringa F, Jecha F, Simon M, Rudolf M
CR: Robert M
19. Derelict. The hut was occupied by Ngoshe who now lives at No. 24 in this village.
20. H: Tangwanda
W3: Monica
C: None
21. Derelict. The hut belonged to Kupa, Tangwanda's second wife who died in 1967. Her son Marko is working in town and is planning to settle here when he retires. Kupa's daughter Erica married and left the village.
21. (a) W1: Andina
C: Marvu F, Josephine F, Cecilia F, Akunaka F, Forostina F
Children 4 and 5 have married and left the village. Children 2 and 3 have been divorced and now live in the village.
22. H: Pio Mutasa
W: Maideyi
C: Dina F, Clemence M, Angera F, Anna F, Ephraim Mi, Conrad M, Ignasia Mi
All children have married and are living in town, except Clemence. Pio has married another wife, Apronia.
22. (a) W2: Apronia
C: Gladys F, Cletos M, Pazere M
23. H: Clemence
W: Dorothy
C: Rudo F, Tsitsi F
Clemence divorced his first wife Verina and married Dorothy.
23. (a) H: Ephraim Mi
W: Benhilda
C: Tendayi M
24. H: Ngoshe
W: Fristas
C: Tatari Mi, Cosmos M, Raymond M, Renimo M, Refigio M, Rambisai F
The hut belonged to Smut who has moved to Mrenge village some miles away.
25. H: Chirara
W: Mauganarwo
C: Maria F, Coletta F, Acolina F
CR: Victoria F, Matinanga F, Darlington M
All the children have married and left.

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